

THE
Nonconformist.

"THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION."

VOL. XVII.—NEW SERIES, No. 592.]

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, MARCH 4, 1857.

PRICE { UNSTAMPED 5d.
STAMPED ... 6d.

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On SUNDAY EVENING NEXT, March 8, at Half-past Six.

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His Grace the Duke of ARGYLL, K.T., P.C., will Preside.

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The names of gentlemen to act as Stewards will be thankfully

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JOSEPH SOUL, Secretary.

Office—32, Ludgate-hill, London (E.C.)

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GENTLEMEN.—I was elected yesterday by a large majority as

one of your Directors.

I take this opportunity of offering my sincere thanks to those

Gentlemen who supported me.

I am, Gentlemen, your obedient servant,

4, Chiswell-street, Feb. 25, 1857. H. COOPER.

TO THE MEMBERS of the BRITISH

EMPIRE MUTUAL LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY.

FELLOW-MEMBERS.—We beg to thank you very sincerely for

our RE-ELECTION, at the ANNUAL MEETING on TUESDAY

LAST, and to assure you of our undiminished exertions to extend

the business of the Company.

CHARLES BENNETT.

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WANTED, by an experienced FEMALE

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be expected to assist in leading the Psalmody of the Congregation

Address, Rev. T. Seavill, 3, York-place, Barnsbury-park (N.).

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wishes an ENGAGEMENT as RESIDENT or DAILY

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take the care of their wardrobe. Salary 15l., besides laundry. A

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SIR JOHN PAKINGTON'S EDUCATION

BILL.

At a MEETING of the COMMITTEE of the BAPTIST UNION

of GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND, held at 33, MOORGATE-

STREET, LONDON, on the 2nd of March, 1857.

Rev. F. TRESTRAIL in the Chair,

It was resolved unanimously,

I. That while holding in the highest estimation the advance-

ment of popular education, this Committee deprecate the con-

tinual interference of the Legislature with it, and in par-

ticular the bill recently brought before Parliament by Sir John

Pakington.

II. That the plan developed in the Bill is, in the judgment of

this Committee, both unwise and injurious; it being simply, by

a capitation grant, to pay money lavishly to all existing schools,

without any inquiry or discretion either as to its necessity or its

influence.

III. That it is a highly objectionable feature of this Bill, that

it charges the expenditure to be thus incurred on the Poor-rate,

thus imposing a school-rate in fact, though not in name, and

doing what is both irritating and mischievous in itself, in the

most irritating and mischievous manner.

IV. That the religious difficulty is not, by the provisions of

the bill, in any measure relieved. To schools of every shade of

religious character, however dissimilar or contradictory, the

public money is to be applied, only with a proviso, that no dis-

tinctive religious formula is to be taught, except at a specified

hour, when children on whose behalf objection is raised, shall

not be required to attend. If this withdrawal of distinctive

religious formulae is supposed to annul the religious character

of a school, its result must be that objecting children would re-

ceive no religious instruction at all; if otherwise (as will

generally be the case), the fact of the application of public money

to the inculcation of all kinds of religion remains in its full

force.

V. That the objectionable character of the bill is not removed

by its being only local and enabling; since, the system once

established, it may so easily be made general and compulsory.

VI. That a petition in accordance with these resolutions be

CAMDEN HOUSE SCHOOL, BRIGHTON.
PRINCIPAL, Mr. WILLIAM OLDING.
As there were NO VACANCIES, and constant applications were being rejected, Mr. Olding has, at a considerable outlay, ENLARGED the PREMISES. The next Quarter commences on Wednesday, March 25.

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EDUCATION, LONDON.—Parents seek-
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GRAMMAR SCHOOL, ST. JOHN'S WOOD.—Principal, Mr. T. GROSVENOR, L.C.P.—This Establishment is designed to afford the Educational advantages of the Public Schools, but free from the evils so commonly attending them. The intellectual powers of the pupils are developed by being brought into constant and healthful exercise; while their moral and religious culture is watched over with ceaseless solicitude. In the Domestic arrangements, the comfort and happiness of the pupils are systematically consulted. Prospectuses will be forwarded on application to Mr. Grosvenor, Albion-road, St. John's-wood.

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Neither trouble nor expense has been spared to render this Establishment worthy of the confidence of Parents. The education imparted is of a thoroughly practicable character, and is minutely calculated to fit the Pupils for becoming useful members of society.

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RESIDENT DIRECTOR.—J. BEAUMONT HAWKINS, B.A.

EXTRAORDINARY ANNOUNCEMENT.
No more New Members will be received after the March Meeting, and the Entrance Fee to Borrowers raised to 20s. per Share after that period.

CONGREGATIONAL BUILDING SOCIETY, No. 4, Held at the BELGRAVE HALL, 41, LOWER BELGRAVE-PLACE, PIMLICO.

3,000l. will be submitted to competition at the THIRD MEETING, on TUESDAY, March 3, 1857, at Eight o'clock. Subscriptions, 6s. per month; Six per cent. on withdrawals; and Six per cent. given for deposits.

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Instituted 1820.

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At the fifth appropriation profits for the five years terminating January 31, 1856, a discretionary bonus was declared of 11. 10s. per cent. on the sums insured, and subsisting additions for every premium paid during the five years. This bonus, on policies of the longest duration, exceeds 25. 5s. per cent. per annum on the original sums insured, and increases a policy of 1,000l. to 1,624l.

Proposals for Insurances may be made at the Chief Office, as above; at the Branch Office, 16, Pall-mall, London; or to any of the Agents throughout the kingdom.

BONUS TABLE.
SHOWING THE ADDITIONS MADE TO POLICIES OF 1,000l. EACH.

Date of Insurance.	Amount of Additions to Feb. 1, 1851.	Addition made as on Feb. 1, 1856.	Sum Payable after Death.
1820	£ s. d. 523 16 0	114 5 0	1638 1 0
1825	382 14 0	103 14 0	1486 8 0
1830	241 12 0	95 2 0	1324 14 0
1835	185 3 0	88 17 0	1273 0 0
1840	128 15 0	84 13 0	1213 8 0
1845	65 15 0	79 18 0	1145 13 0
1850	10 0 0	75 15 0	1085 15 0
1855	—	15 0 0	1015 0 0

And for intermediate years in proportion.
The next appropriation will be made in 1861.
Insurances, without participation in Profits, may be effected at reduced rates.

SAMUEL INGALL, Actuary.

LIFE ASSURANCE AGENCY.—The Directors of the ACHILLES INSURANCE COMPANY are prepared to receive applications from respectable parties for Agencies in towns where they are not represented. For particulars, apply to the Secretary at the Chief Office.
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Age.	£ s. d.
30	5 18 8
40	6 12 8
50	7 11 3
60	10 7 0

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STANDING COUNSEL.

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Name (in full)

Usual signature

Address

Occupation

Date

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VOL. XVII.—NEW SERIES, No. 592.]

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Ecclesiastical Affairs.

THE EDUCATIONAL FUSIONISTS AND THEIR BILL.

WHEN Beau Brummell's visitor caught the valet on the staircase, furtively conveying from the exquisite's dressing-room a tray full of half-rumpled collars, he received the apologetic explanation—"these are our failures!"

We are reminded of the incident by the abortive efforts of our State-educationists, whose bills, resolutions, and suggestions now form quite a heap, which they may ruefully ticket "our failures." Yet, with wonderful tenacity of purpose, they go on adding to the pile. They bore Parliament; they give satisfaction to no large party out of doors; their schemes excite less hope and enthusiasm every year; and still they delude themselves with the belief that the demon of popular ignorance may be exorcised at their bidding.

This session we have the Bill of Sir John Pakington, for the promotion of education in cities and boroughs, which the House of Commons will be asked to-day to read a second time. It is the result of the fusion of the projectors of the "Manchester Scheme," and of the Secular Educationists—an alliance betokened by the addition, on the back of the Bill, of the names of Mr. Cobden, Lord Stanley, and Mr. Headlam, to that of the member for Droitwich. And this is, in truth, the only thing about it which can revive the flagging interest of Parliament in the question; for it will prove another "failure," and show how much easier it is to agree to a compromise at Manchester, than to obtain a conquest in St. Stephen's.

Certainly the Bill has the merit of simplicity. You can see at once what it is intended to do, and what to leave undone; and there is an avoidance of pretentiousness, which will give the measure, in the eyes of simple souls, the appearance of innocence itself. Its operation is limited to cities and boroughs, and it is permissive, and not compulsory. There is, first, the decision on the point whether the Act shall be adopted in a given place—then, the election of a School Committee—then the union of schools with such committee—provisions for inspection—payment of fees, at so much per head—and, lastly, an order on the overseers to pay the cost out of the poor-rate. There is explicitness in the matter of religious instruction—there is local control over expenditure—there is an apparent combination of central action with the independent action of individual schools—and, especially, there is the least possible show of interference with the machinery already sustained by voluntary means. Truly, the paw of the State-educationist never looked so smooth, or so well concealed its claws!

Yet the very first section of this Bill starts a difficulty which is fatal to its successful working. At the instance of so small a number as a one-hundredth part of the ratepayers of any borough, there may be initiated an educational agitation, in which all the points of difference which have baffled our legislators, will be relegated to a body least likely to reach any harmonious conclusion, and certain to be more or less influenced by party politics, and by sectarian or personal predilections and antipathies. If, by

any means, so much as a bare majority can be obtained, the Act will come into operation, and the borough will have brought upon itself an abiding incubus. On the other hand, if the decision be adverse, that decision will be good but for a year, at the expiration of which the two parties may be again in conflict; voluntary efforts to promote education being meanwhile paralysed, until it is seen whether the work is to continue to devolve on subscribers, or is to be a charge upon the rates. Nor will the strife terminate on the adoption of the Act, for the beaten party will naturally seek to make the best of a bad position, by sending its representatives to the School Committee, and, as one-third of the members are to go out annually, the dissension may assume a chronic character. It is incredible, pertinently remarks the *Guardian*, "that legislators who are fairly puzzled by the difficulty of solving the Church-rate problem should suffer the country to be entangled in the perplexities of another parochial impost, deficient only in the sanctions and justifications of that ancient tax."

This, however, it may be urged, is a problematical objection, and one conceived in a spirit of exaggeration. But does it follow that because there has been a shaking of hands at Manchester, there will be concord all over England, or that all the upholders of opposing educational theories will turn their backs on their principles, because the example has been set them in this Bill?

The Bill is, in fact, one for doing the very thing which Mr. Cobden once pithily objected to as the compelling of every one to support every one else's religion. It does not prohibit religious teaching: it simply requires that, if a formulary be taught, it shall be at a stated time, and that children whose parents object thereto, shall be set to some other instruction, or may leave the school. Thus every sect in a town can have its school supported at the public expense, and those which have none will have to pay for such as have. The scheme, therefore, is in this respect as thoroughly latitudinarian as the most lax politician could desire. It will put schools in the position in which many of our legislators would confessedly like to see our chapels and ministers. The same injustice which is now inflicted by our ecclesiastical establishment will be suffered, but on an aggravated scale, since a minority will be compelled to contribute towards the support, not of one only, but, it may be, of half-a-dozen hostile creeds.

Is it asked what reconciles the "Seculars" to such a proposal? We can find the reason nowhere else than in the fact, that there is accorded to themselves the right which they now concede to their former opponents. At present there is no hope of establishing a purely secular system. There is an equal difficulty in sustaining schools on that principle, as the result of mere private and associative efforts. So the Seculars drop the flag of hostility to religious teaching. They will concede the local rate, and let all the sects have the benefit of it; and then in return, they will claim a share in the proceeds; and, under cover of their liberality, will obtain the support of those who conscientiously object to education which is not religious in its principles and aims. This is really the nature of the compact between the two parties; but however satisfactory to themselves, can it possibly be regarded as a solution of the difficulty which has proved fatal to every preceding plan?

That the general effect of the measure will be to weaken, and then to destroy, voluntary educational machinery, we regard as absolutely certain. When every school has once established its claim to be supported out of the taxes, the obligation resting upon individuals will press lightly enough. Now, a school is dependent on its character and efficiency for maintenance. Now, the necessity for obtaining funds, and for expending them with providence, stimulates committees and subscribers. But under this Bill schools may claim, as of right, to be admitted into union with the School Committee, and, provided that the attendance of the scholars is adequate, there need be no further labour for the collection of funds or

the promotion of the general efficiency of the school. Why even the involuntary voluntaries of the Establishment are alarmed at the prospect—the *Record* declaring that "the adoption of the Act in a town will be the death-warrant of voluntary effort and voluntary subscription," and deprecating such a result on the sound plea, that that which is thus menaced, "creates a kindly interest which could often be secured by no other means, and form a link between the people and the school of the most salutary kind."

The effect on a large class of parents would be equally decisive. The small shopkeepers and other ratepayers, who pay rent and taxes with the utmost difficulty will claim for their children the benefit of the tax they are compelled to pay. They will refuse to pay for education twice over—to the collector and to the schoolmaster—and so they will be induced to withdraw their children from the establishments of private schoolmasters and place them in the schools maintained out of the poor-rate. The poor-rate! Can anything more impolitic be conceived than this dovetailing of education with pauperism? Popular education is now a popular topic, but how long will it remain so, when it has become interwoven with the machinery worked by guardians and overseers, and swells poor-rates which, in a season of distress, may be augmented beyond the power of endurance?

Why is it that we are called upon to incur all the risks, to encounter all the certain dangers, consequent on the passing of such a measure? *Cui bono*, Sir John Pakington? Will your Bill establish new schools to meet the alleged deficiency? There is not a single provision for such a purpose. On the contrary, in a singularly self-contradictory spirit, the Bill supposes the existence of schools and of committees, managers, and trustees, and requires for its operation the creation of school machinery by that very Voluntaryism which it will sap and overthrow!

Will it improve the quality of the education given in existing schools, and so meet the objection on which our opponents have fallen back in default of statistics? We discern no adequate provision, though there is the pretence of a provision, for securing so important a result. The subjects of instruction are prescribed, but not the mode or system. There are to be inspectors, but nothing is to depend on their inspection. The master is to be reported on, but there is no power of action on the report. The School Committee can dissolve the connexion of any school only on a departure from certain regulations, specified in the Act, and with the observance of every one of which there may be gross inefficiency and disgraceful failure.

Will the plan touch that which is the root of the existing evil, by insuring the attendance of those who have hitherto not been reached by any of our educational institutions? Clearly not; and here the breakdown is as complete as it has been in all similar attempts. True it is provided that the capitation grant shall be strictly regulated by the attendance of the scholars, the registration of which is, theoretically, carefully ensured. But this will not draw, or drive, into the school the ragged urchins who infest our streets, nor those who are obliged, by their juvenile labour, to eke out the slender resources of their families. Neither will it necessarily ensure the regular attendance of scholars actually admitted, though it may occasion a system of contrivance and trickery to keep up the capitation fees, which no inspectors nor registers can prevent, and which will be demoralising in its effects.

Briefly described, then, the Bill is simply a measure for creating a large additional expenditure for educational purposes; without any assurance that it will yield adequate results. It will distribute money on a large scale, irrespective of the necessities of the case and of the results, and with a reckless disregard of conscientious convictions and of individual rights. About the costliness of the proposal there can be no room for doubt. It will leave the enormous sum now voted to the Committee of Council intact: it will create a new class of stipendiaries, and multiply those with whom we

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BONUS TABLE.

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Date of Insurance.	Amount of Additions to Feb. 1, 1851.	Addition made as on Feb. 1, 1856.	Sum Payable after Death.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1820	523 16 0	114 5 0	1638 1 0
1825	382 14 0	103 14 0	1486 8 0
1830	241 12 0	93 2 0	1334 14 0
1835	185 3 0	88 17 0	1274 0 0
1840	128 15 0	84 13 0	1213 8 0
1845	65 15 0	79 18 0	1145 13 0
1850	10 0 0	75 15 0	1085 15 0
1855	—	15 0 0	1015 0 0

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60	10 7 0

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THE Nonconformist.

"THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION."

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Ecclesiastical Affairs.

THE EDUCATIONAL FUSIONISTS AND THEIR BILL.

WHEN Beau Brummell's visitor caught the valet on the staircase, furtively conveying from the exquisite's dressing-room a tray full of half-rumpled collars, he received the apologetic explanation—"these are our failures!"

We are reminded of the incident by the abortive efforts of our State-educationists, whose bills, resolutions, and suggestions now form quite a heap, which they may ruefully ticket "our failures." Yet, with wonderful tenacity of purpose, they go on adding to the pile. They bore Parliament; they give satisfaction to no large party out of doors; their schemes excite less hope and enthusiasm every year; and still they delude themselves with the belief that the demon of popular ignorance may be exorcised at their bidding.

This session we have the Bill of Sir John Pakington, for the promotion of education in cities and boroughs, which the House of Commons will be asked to-day to read a second time. It is the result of the fusion of the projectors of the "Manchester Scheme," and of the Secular Educationists—an alliance betokened by the addition, on the back of the Bill, of the names of Mr. Cobden, Lord Stanley, and Mr. Headlam, to that of the member for Droitwich. And this is, in truth, the only thing about it which can revive the flagging interest of Parliament in the question; for it will prove another "failure," and show how much easier it is to agree to a compromise at Manchester, than to obtain a conquest in St. Stephen's.

Certainly the Bill has the merit of simplicity. You can see at once what it is intended to do, and what to leave undone; and there is an avoidance of pretentiousness, which will give the measure, in the eyes of simple souls, the appearance of innocence itself. Its operation is limited to cities and boroughs, and it is permissive, and not compulsory. There is, first, the decision on the point whether the Act shall be adopted in a given place—then, the election of a School Committee—then the union of schools with such committee—provisions for inspection—payment of fees, at so much per head—and, lastly, an order on the overseers to pay the cost out of the poor-rate. There is explicitness in the matter of religious instruction—there is local control over expenditure—there is an apparent combination of central action with the independent action of individual schools—and, especially, there is the least possible show of interference with the machinery already sustained by voluntary means. Truly, the paw of the State-educationist never looked so smooth, or so well concealed its claws!

Yet the very first section of this Bill starts a difficulty which is fatal to its successful working. At the instance of so small a number as a one-hundredth part of the ratepayers of any borough, there may be initiated an educational agitation, in which all the points of difference which have baffled our legislators, will be relegated to a body least likely to reach any harmonious conclusion, and certain to be more or less influenced by party politics, and by sectarian or personal predilections and antipathies. If, by

any means, so much as a bare majority can be obtained, the Act will come into operation, and the borough will have brought upon itself an abiding incubus. On the other hand, if the decision be adverse, that decision will be good but for a year, at the expiration of which the two parties may be again in conflict; voluntary efforts to promote education being meanwhile paralysed, until it is seen whether the work is to continue to devolve on subscribers, or is to be a charge upon the rates. Nor will the strife terminate on the adoption of the Act, for the beaten party will naturally seek to make the best of a bad position, by sending its representatives to the School Committee, and, as one-third of the members are to go out annually, the dissension may assume a chronic character. It is incredible, pertinently remarks the *Guardian*, "that legislators who are fairly puzzled by the difficulty of solving the Church-rate problem should suffer the country to be entangled in the perplexities of another parochial impost, deficient only in the sanctions and justifications of that ancient tax."

This, however, it may be urged, is a problematical objection, and one conceived in a spirit of exaggeration. But does it follow that because there has been a shaking of hands at Manchester, there will be concord all over England, or that all the upholders of opposing educational theories will turn their backs on their principles, because the example has been set them in this Bill?

The Bill is, in fact, one for doing the very thing which Mr. Cobden once pithily objected to as the compelling of every one to support every one else's religion. It does not prohibit religious teaching; it simply requires that, if a formulary be taught, it shall be at a stated time, and that children whose parents object thereto, shall be set to some other instruction, or may leave the school. Thus every sect in a town can have its school supported at the public expense, and those which have none will have to pay for such as have. The scheme, therefore, is in this respect as thoroughly latitudinarian as the most lax politician could desire. It will put schools in the position in which many of our legislators would confessedly like to see our chapels and ministers. The same injustice which is now inflicted by our ecclesiastical establishment will be suffered, but on an aggravated scale, since a minority will be compelled to contribute towards the support, not of one only, but, it may be, of half-a-dozen hostile creeds.

Is it asked what reconciles the "Seculars" to such a proposal? We can find the reason nowhere else than in the fact, that there is accorded to themselves the right which they now concede to their former opponents. At present there is no hope of establishing a purely secular system. There is an equal difficulty in sustaining schools on that principle, as the result of mere private and associative efforts. So the Seculars drop the flag of hostility to religious teaching. They will concede the local rate, and let all the sects have the benefit of it; and then in return, they will claim a share in the proceeds; and, under cover of their liberality, will obtain the support of those who conscientiously object to education which is not religious in its principles and aims. This is really the nature of the compact between the two parties; but however satisfactory to themselves, can it possibly be regarded as a solution of the difficulty which has proved fatal to every preceding plan?

That the general effect of the measure will be to weaken, and then to destroy, voluntary educational machinery, we regard as absolutely certain. When every school has once established its claim to be supported out of the taxes, the obligation resting upon individuals will press lightly enough. Now, a school is dependent on its character and efficiency for maintenance. Now, the necessity for obtaining funds, and for expending them with providence, stimulates committees and subscribers. But under this Bill schools may claim, as of right, to be admitted into union with the School Committee, and, provided that the attendance of the scholars is adequate, there need be no further labour for the collection of funds or

the promotion of the general efficiency of the school. Why even the involuntary volunteers of the Establishment are alarmed at the prospect—the *Record* declaring that "the adoption of the Act in a town will be the death-warrant of voluntary effort and voluntary subscription," and deprecating such a result on the sound plea, that that which is thus menaced, "creates a kindly interest which could often be secured by no other means, and form a link between the people and the school of the most salutary kind."

The effect on a large class of parents would be equally decisive. The small shopkeepers and other ratepayers, who pay rent and taxes with the utmost difficulty will claim for their children the benefit of the tax they are compelled to pay. They will refuse to pay for education twice over—to the collector and to the schoolmaster—and so they will be induced to withdraw their children from the establishments of private schoolmasters and place them in the schools maintained out of the poor-rate. The poor-rate! Can anything more impolitic be conceived than this dovetailing of education with pauperism? Popular education is now a popular topic, but how long will it remain so, when it has become interwoven with the machinery worked by guardians and overseers, and swells poor-rates which, in a season of distress, may be augmented beyond the power of endurance?

Why is it that we are called upon to incur all the risks, to encounter all the certain dangers, consequent on the passing of such a measure? *Cui bono*, Sir John Pakington? Will your Bill establish new schools to meet the alleged deficiency? There is not a single provision for such a purpose. On the contrary, in a singularly self-contradictory spirit, the Bill supposes the existence of schools and of committees, managers, and trustees, and requires for its operation the creation of school machinery by that very Voluntarism which it will sap and overthrow!

Will it improve the quality of the education given in existing schools, and so meet the objection on which our opponents have fallen back in default of statistics? We discern no adequate provision, though there is the pretence of a provision, for securing so important a result. The subjects of instruction are prescribed, but not the mode or system. There are to be inspectors, but nothing is to depend on their inspection. The master is to be reported on, but there is no power of action on the report. The School Committee can dissolve the connexion of any school only on a departure from certain regulations, specified in the Act, and with the observance of every one of which there may be gross inefficiency and disgraceful failure.

Will the plan touch that which is the root of the existing evil, by insuring the attendance of those who have hitherto not been reached by any of our educational institutions? Clearly not; and here the breakdown is as complete as it has been in all similar attempts. True it is provided that the capitation grant shall be strictly regulated by the attendance of the scholars, the registration of which is, theoretically, carefully ensured. But this will not draw, or drive, into the school the ragged urchins who infest our streets, nor those who are obliged, by their juvenile labour, to eke out the slender resources of their families. Neither will it necessarily ensure the regular attendance of scholars actually admitted, though it may occasion a system of contrivance and trickery to keep up the capitation fees, which no inspectors nor registers can prevent, and which will be demoralising in its effects.

Briefly described, then, the Bill is simply a measure for creating a large additional expenditure for educational purposes; without any assurance that it will yield adequate results. It will distribute money on a large scale, irrespective of the necessities of the case and of the results, and with a reckless disregard of conscientious convictions and of individual rights. About the costliness of the proposal there can be no room for doubt. It will leave the enormous sum now voted to the Committee of Council intact; it will create a new class of stipendiaries, and multiply those with whom we

are already too familiar, and, above all, it will pave the way, not only for an expenditure of money beyond all our present conceptions, but for the introduction of a system, which, if it be allowed to strike root in English soil, will become intolerably meddlesome, coercive, and despotic.

CHURCH-RATE ABOLITION BILL.

We would once more remind our readers that the second reading of Sir W. Clay's Church-rate Abolition Bill is fixed for Wednesday, March 25, by which time it is of the utmost importance that the House of Commons should be able to see, by the petitions presented in its favour, how strong is the feeling against Church-rates out of doors. The *Liberator* for March has the following on the subject: "Our parliamentary committee is issuing a circular calling for renewed exertions to pass Sir W. Clay's measure for the simple abolition of Church-rates, without compensation, condition, or equivalent. . . . Some of our friends, we believe, think we rested too much on our oars in 1856. We think we had warrant for our course, and that it will yet approve itself in good results. But we do not desire to discuss that matter. We mean to have no 1856 this year. We now go for the policy and the objects of 1855. Let therefore every week, up to Wednesday, the 25th instant, send in its bundle of petitions. Begin at once: send in as soon as ready: keep it up till the end. Our first batch was under 800 petitions, and under 100,000 signatures; our next rose to 1,600, with 150,000 signatures. Let us again double the number. Let them be sent to the local M.P., whatever his politics, and let us have a letter to say they have been sent. We will see to their being presented, and will do our part to ensure their full effect upon the representative mind."

The following letter on the same subject appeared in the *Daily News* of Monday, and we earnestly hope that the practical suggestions it contains will be promptly followed up:—

TO THE EDITOR OF THE DAILY NEWS.

Sir,—Sir W. Clay's Bill for the simple and unconditional repeal of Church-rates comes on for second reading on Wednesday, March 25. The recent history of this annual measure is curious and instructive. In 1856 both the first and second reading of the bill were carried in the House of Commons against the heads of the Government, but unfortunately the tactics of its opponents prevented further progress. Last year Lord Palmerston and Sir G. Grey helped to carry the second reading, the latter stating on behalf of Government that he intended to move certain amendments in committee. But the House, mainly in consequence of the supineness—or something worse—of the Government, never went into committee, so the bill was lost for the session. The honourable member for the Tower Hamlets, this year, no longer relies upon Ministers, but brings in his former measure for total abolition. Twice the House of Commons has affirmed that principle by decisive majorities, and the question is just now at a crisis when an out-door expression of opinion would be of peculiar value. There are many cogent reasons why the House should be once more besieged with petitions.

In the first place, the Church party are doing their best to obtain petitions in favour of the maintenance of Church-rates. They have formed a committee of laymen which is actively at work in the rural districts, and which included such notables as Sir J. Pakington, Lord John Manners, Mr Walpole, and Mr. Spooner. They have willing instruments in many of the clergy and churchwardens of country districts, and by this means they may be able to get up a respectable demonstration.

A second reason why the friends of Church-rate abolition should petition is, that their cause is this year deserted by Lord Palmerston, who coolly declares that Government does not intend to carry out the arrangement of last year, on the ground that Parliament has already enough business to attend to. Will not the public show their sense of this supercilious treatment by petitioning in favour of the Church-Rate Abolition Bill?

The prospect of an early general election makes such a demonstration particularly timely. This year honourable members will be liberally disposed on account of that contingency, and will lend a more than usually willing ear to the representations of watchful constituents and to the expression of public opinion. As every one who is conversant with such matters knows petitions are not thrown away upon the House of Commons. A running fire of petitions presented day by day is a powerful auxiliary to any public movement. I would, therefore, through your columns, earnestly call upon the friends of religious freedom to petition Parliament in favour of Sir W. Clay's Bill—not Dissenters merely, but all who object to that crying grievance; not only country districts which most feel its pressure, but our borough towns who have long extinguished the injustice. Will not Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, Leeds, Bradford, Bristol, Nottingham, Derby, Leicester, and other great seats of industry, come to the rescue of their fellow-countrymen in less favoured localities, and get up monster petitions with thousands of signatures? It is a Churchmen's even more than a Dissenters' question,

and ought not to be identified with any particular denominations. Church-rates are a stigma upon the reputation of a nation that boasts of its free constitution and recognises, as a standing toast, "Civil and religious liberty all over the world."

In 1855 there were 1,600 petitions, with about 150,000 signatures, in favour of Church-rate appeal. This is very well; but ought not the number of signatures this year to be, at least, doubled? When the opponents of Maynooth can get their half million signatures in favour of Mr. Spooner's narrow motion, surely the much more popular question of Church-rate abolition ought to be able to show an equal measure of support. Would it not be a serious misfortune, if the opponents of Sir W. Clay's measure should be able to point to a mass of petitions with perhaps some 60,000 signatures and only a few in its favour? Might they not with some reason say that the country did not care for abolition? I would therefore repeat the advice—"Petition! petition! petition!"

Little more than three weeks remain ere the battle will be fought on the floor of the House of Commons. Not a moment should be lost. I trust that in every town, large and small, the opponents of Church-rates will set to work without delay. I have no manner of doubt that half a million petitioners would alter the tone of our careless Prime Minister, and induce him to preserve his consistency by again supporting Sir W. Clay. Even this year, if the country will do its duty, Church-rates may be got rid of—at all events, put in such a position as to be once and for ever abolished by the Parliament which follows the next general election.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.,

AN ECCLESIASTICAL REFORMER.

GRANTS FOR RELIGIOUS PURPOSES.

By a parliamentary return issued recently, it appears that the total of the grants in the last five years made from the Consolidated Fund to the different religious denominations in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and including in the cases of the Churches of England and Scotland the grants in the colonies, is as follows: Church of England, 203,266l. 3s. 2d.; Church of Scotland, 106,452l. 16s. 9d.; Church of Rome, 131,910l.; Protestant Dissenters, 202,243l. 19s. 1d.; making a grand total of 643,902l. 19s.—*Newspaper paragraph.*

The above paragraph conveys a very imperfect and unfair notion of the return in question. Of the sum paid to "Protestant Dissenters," 191,365l. 13s. 2d. consists of the *Regium Donum* for the years in question, and we are at a loss to understand why the term "Presbyterians" should not have been used as well as "Catholics," instead of the misleading designation of "Protestant Dissenters." It has very much the appearance of a wilful deception on the part of our Government officials, with the view of implicating Protestant Dissenters in a system which the great bulk of them entirely repudiate. In the above total of 643,902l. 19s. are included payments on behalf of the Ecclesiastical Commission 17,063l. 4s. 6d. 10s. to the Irish Church from the Consolidated Fund, 1,000l. paid by the Customs' Commissioners on behalf of the Coast Guard, 13,355l. 18s. 2d. for drawback on materials used in building, &c., church in connexion with the Establishment, 85,144l. 18s. 6d. for augmenting small stipends of ministers of the Church of Scotland, paid out of the Consolidated Fund, and from the same source 101,144l. 18s. 6d. paid to the General Assembly "for itinerant preachers in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland." Scotch Theological Professors have cost 4,000l., and Irish, 12,878l. 5s. 11d. The Maynooth Endowment is also included in this return, being 26,360l. per annum, or 131,800l. for the five years.

Some of these ecclesiastical payments are undergoing a decrease, but, of course, those which are a charge on the Consolidated Fund can only be removed by Act of Parliament. The drawback on the building of churches has decreased from 4,413l. 17s. in 1851 to 1,279l. 4s. 6d. in 1856. In 1852, 10,372l. was paid for religious purposes in the colonies; this was reduced in 1856 to 7,922l.

THE EPISCOPAL BENCH AND THE CANTON OUTRAGE.—The following bishops voted on the Earl of Derby's motion respecting the recent transactions in China:—

FOR THE MOTION.

Bishops.
Chichester
Exeter
Oxford
Rochester
Salisbury

AGAINST.

Archbishops.
Canterbury
York
Bishops.
Bath and Wells
Carlisle
Chester
Durham
Down
Gloucester
Hereford
London
Llandaff
Lichfield
Manchester
Norwich
Peterborough
St. Asaph
Winchester
Worcester

So much for Lord Derby's appeal to the Christianity of the Episcopal Bench!

THE STATE CHURCH IN WALES.—A few evenings since, a petition was presented to the House of

Commons from the Rev. R. W. Morgan, a clergyman of Tregynon, Montgomeryshire, in which he asserts, that for the last 140 years none of the bishops appointed to sees in North Wales have been able to address the Cambrian people in their own tongue, and while the said bishops at present possess large incomes, two palaces, two peerages, and an enormous patronage, more than 5,000 of the working clergy are in receipt of not more than 100l. per annum. He sets forth the evils arising from this state of things, alleging that the Church is nearly extinct, its members in North Wales, out of a population of 430,000, falling short of 18,000, being, without reference to increase of population, an absolute decrease of 70,000 since A.D. 1715, when such episcopate was first introduced; and he prays for inquiry into these facts, with a view to a timely reconstruction of the ecclesiastical administration of the Church in Wales.

MINISTERS' MONEY.—A letter from Dublin, dated Feb. 25, says: "It is stated that Government is desirous, if possible, to yield to the popular outcry against Ministers' Money; and that for that purpose a commission is about to issue to inquire whether the Ecclesiastical Board may not, either by reductions or otherwise, find funds to make good the amount now supplied by that very offensive impost."

EDINBURGH ANNUITY TAX.—In connexion with the bill for the repeal of the Ministers' Money in eight towns of Ireland, the second reading of which has been fixed for the 18th of March, the case of the Edinburgh Annuity Tax will again be brought before the House of Commons. This tax, which amounts to four per cent. on the rack rental of all the property of the city within the extended royalty, and is levied on occupants, goes to maintain eighteen city ministers, who each receive from the tax 550l. to 600l. a year. From time to time the tax has caused great agitation in the city; even magistrates and other respectable citizens professing voluntary opinions have gone to gaol rather than pay it, and the forcible arrestment of the goods of others on one occasion led to rioting and the calling out of the military. Committees of Parliament have sat upon the question, parliamentary commissioners have held inquiries, and various measures of relief to the city have been proposed, but as yet nothing has been done. Mr. Black, M.P. for the city, has had an interview with Lord Palmerston, and stated the grievance to him, and the question has been brought under the notice of other members of Government, with the view that, as Edinburgh stands in substantially the same position in this matter as the Irish towns, the same measure of relief should be extended to it. The "Bishops' teinds," in possession of the Crown since the abolition of episcopacy in Scotland, have been pointed to as a proper source to give relief. The Edinburgh Town-council has unanimously resolved to petition Parliament on the subject. A similar tax exists in the neighbouring burgh of Canongate and in the town of Montrose, in behalf of which the same claim will be presented.

Religious Intelligence.

MONUMENT TO BENJAMIN PARSONS.—A public meeting was held at Ebley, near Stroud, on the 24th ult., for the purpose of raising funds to erect a monument in memory of the above-named. Tea had been provided, but it seems the attendance was too great for the provisions; whilst many were full, others had to go away fasting. The chair was occupied by S. S. Marling, Esq., and he was supported by Messrs. Barnard, Corshaw, W. Marling, and other large manufacturers of the district, as well as by Rev. Paxton Hood, T. Lloyd, the successor of Mr. Parsons, and other ministers. It appears that many plans had been suggested, but they all had given way to a block of granite as emblematical of the sterling character of the deceased. Several resolutions were adopted, the speakers being Messrs. H. Webb, H. Cosham, J. Smith, W. Marling, E. Barnard, G. Bucknall, Paxton Hood, T. Lloyd, and others. Of the 100l. required, about 56l. was the sum reported to have been received. A committee was appointed to see the design carried out, among whom are Samuel Morley, Esq., and Mr. J. Soul, of London. It was well put by several of the speakers, that the chapel, the schools, and much of the manly feeling and prosperity of Ebley and its locality were the memorials of the "Oberlin of Gloucestershire," but that he deserved something to look at and to think about besides these, and that a monument was appropriate to this purpose.

PORTLAND CHAPEL, SOUTHAMPTON.—The usual annual meeting of the congregation worshipping in Portland Chapel was held on Thursday last, when we were glad to find that the labours of the Rev. A. M'Laren, B.A., during the past year had been so fully appreciated by his friends as to place all the various institutions in connexion with the chapel in a highly prosperous state. The most important feature of the meeting was the appointment of a committee to make the necessary inquiries, and report to a future meeting, as to the best means of affording increased accommodation, either by enlarging the present chapel or building a new one.—*Hants Independent.*

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION.—On Tuesday evening, the annual meeting of this Association was held in Exeter Hall, which was crowded as soon as the doors were opened. The Earl of Shaftesbury took the chair, but excused himself from making a speech, because he was obliged to return to the House of Lords, where the debate on the Chinese war required his attendance. Mr. Shipton, the Secretary read an abstract of the report, which was of an extremely gratifying nature, containing many records of the usefulness of the London association, and notices

of the formation of several new branch societies in the provinces. It is intended to make a special appeal this year to wipe off the debt remaining on account of the new rooms in Aldersgate-street. Thomas H. Gladstone, Esq., then gave a most interesting account of his visit to the Young Men's Christian Association in the United States, where they had spread with great rapidity, and were exceedingly active, and briefly reported also the condition of the societies in Canada, France, and Germany. He would invite the young men of England to combine the activity which was displayed by the associations in America, the earnest spirituality and simplicity which were displayed by their brethren in France, and the social welcome and Christian affection which so conspicuously prevailed in Germany, and unite them together in one harmonious whole, and thereby make it the boast of England that not only was she the parent of these associations, but that she presented to the world the embodiment of all the Christian qualities of which they were susceptible. (Cheers.) The meeting was then addressed by the Rev. J. H. Graham on "Spiritual Progress," the Rev. J. H. James, who particularly directed his remarks to the "unconverted" young men; by the Rev. Mr. Landells, and the Rev. Newman Hall. The proceedings of the evening closed by singing the Doxology and passing a vote of thanks to Lord Shaftesbury, who had presided at the earlier period of the meeting, and to Mr. Bevan, who subsequently took the chair.

The *Inquirer* states that the Rev. James Martineau has announced his intention to resign at Michaelmas next the ministerial office at Hope-street Church, Liverpool, having accepted an invitation to undertake academical duties in Manchester New College, London.

Correspondence.

THE UNION OF REFORMERS.

To the Editor of the *Nonconformist*.

DEAR SIR,—At our democratic meeting, Mr. Cook brought to our notice the extracts from the *Atlas* and *Leader* urging Reformers to unite and agree upon some general measure of reform; and they unanimously passed the following resolution:—

Having seen in the *Nonconformist* extracts from the *Atlas* and *Leader* a recommendation to Reformers of all grades to hold a council as soon as practicable, at which may be drawn up a measure of Reform, endeavouring to unite the leading Reformers of all parties, this meeting heartily hopes the suggestion may be carried out, and believes the country would gladly approve of such a step.—D. WALLWORK, Chairman.

Suppose Sir J. Walsley, with a few of the leading men, were to draw up a circular inviting Reformers from all parts of the country to meet in some central place in London, and there devise what may be thought a good Reform Bill around which the country would rally.

I hope, Mr. Editor, you will use your influence to that end. You would find it easier to pass Church-rate bills and all other good bills with a House of Commons reformed.

Yours truly,
D. WALLWORK.

Flood-street, Dudley, March 1, 1857.

THE REV. DR. DAVIDSON.

The following memorial was prepared previously to the recent meeting of the committee of the Lancashire Independent College, and was placed in the hands of gentlemen on that committee who would have formally presented it, had not the unanimous vote of confidence appeared to render that course unnecessary. It has been thought by several who highly esteem Dr. Davidson that its publication may be of service in exhibiting the consciousness of his worth impressed upon those who have been intimately associated with him.

To the paper were appended statements respecting other former students whose signatures do not appear, but who had expressed, in answer to the invitation to sign, the very highest estimate of their tutor.

TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE LANCASHIRE INDEPENDENT COLLEGE.

February, 1857.

Gentlemen,—We, the undersigned, having, when students in the institution you represent, enjoyed the advantage of attending the classes of Dr. Davidson, feel impelled to address you, respectfully but earnestly, in reference to our highly esteemed tutor. We would simply state our own impressions, leaving them for your candid consideration.

During the years of our collegiate course, we were not only made conscious of the eminent literary qualifications of Dr. Davidson to be our guide in biblical studies, but received ample evidence of his attachment to "those things which are most surely believed among us." We could refer, one by one, to the doctrines which you, like us, regard as the essence and distinction of Christian belief, and bear testimony to the direct convincing methods in which, with unremitting care, our tutor brought forth for us the confirmation and elucidation from the Word of God. Among the subjects most prominent in these teachings were, the Atonement, Regenerating Influence, and Divine Inspiration. It is true to say that had our views on either of those great subjects been, when we first met our Tutor, indefinite or undetermined, his mode was thoroughly adapted to give to them clearness and fixedness.

We left the house with thankfulness for its numerous advantages; and beg you to observe that no distinction or reflection whatever is implied in this our testimony. But we have retained admiration of Dr. Davidson's earning, assurance of his firm attachment to heavenly truth, and affectionate reciprocity of his friendship. We are convinced that his withdrawal from the college would be attended with most serious loss to the interests of its successive inmates.

We also believe, that had his views undergone change, he would, at any cost, have made the avowal. And we trust that a possible difference from the theory received by you or by us on a special and limited biblical question, will not be treated as though indicating the

slightest departure from that which we alike held, in any other particular.

Finally, we think it right to say that this expression has emanated from ourselves alone, no one from without having, directly or remotely, suggested any such course.

With earnest prayer that the issue of your deliberations may be for the furtherance of "the truth as it is in Jesus."

We are, Gentlemen,

Yours most respectfully,

STEPHEN HOOPER, Heaton Mersey.
ROBERT MACRETH, Hamersmith.
SAMUEL SHAW, Middleton.
THOMAS NICHOLAS, Caermarthen College.
JOHN STROYAN, Burnley.
WILLIAM PARKES, Monkwearmouth.
ROBERT WHITAKER MCALL, Leicester.
SIMON DYSON, Idle.
ROBERT WILLIAM SELBIE, Chesterfield.
EDWIN STRAKER, Jersey.
WILLIAM KIRKAS, London.
ABRAHAM STROYAN, Hyde.
WILLIAM WARWICK, Hatherlow.
HENRY HOOPER, Hackney.
GEO. F. H. STYKES, Woodford.
THOMAS J. HARRISON, Woodford.
JAMES W. BENSON, Marple.
WILLIAM H. MANN, Runcorn.
GEORGE ROBINS, Slough.
JOHN FIRTH, Little Lever.
EDWARD L. ADAMS, Nantwich.
JOSIAH HANKINSON, Leek.
JOSEPH HALEY, Accrington.

Parliamentary Proceedings.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

PETITIONS PRESENTED.

Income-tax, for repeal or reduction, 20.
Intoxicating Drinks, for restricting sale of, 5.
Maynooth Endowment, for repeal of, 32.
Opium Trade, for prohibition, 9.
Passing Tolls Bill, in favour of, 4.
against, 2.
Poor-law (Ireland), for amendment, 6.
Sale of Beer Bill, in favour of, 4.
Law of Settlement, for amendment, 3.
Superannuation Act, for amendment, 22.
Tea, against proposed scale of duties, 21.
China, for inquiry, 23.
Judgments Execution, &c., Bill, in favour of, 2.
Representative System, for alteration, 2.
Distressed Operatives, for relief, 2.
Newspaper-law, for amendment, 1.
China and Persia, against further aggression, 8.
Church-rate Abolition Bill, in favour of, 1.
Metropolitan Local Management Act, for amendment, 1.
Paper Duty, for repeal of, 5.
Turnpike Gates in London, for removal, 12.
Church-rate Abolition Bill, against, 3.
County Franchise (Scotland), for extension, 1.
Drunkennes, for suppression, 1.
Game-laws, for amendment, 2.
The Crimean Commissioners, for rewarding, 1.
Ministers' Money (Ireland), for abolition, 1.
Weights and Measures, for uniform system, 1.

BILLS PRESENTED AND READ A FIRST TIME.

Carliole Canonries Bill.
Regulation of Long Leases (Scotland) Bill.
Commissioners of Supply (Scotland) Acts Bill.
Fiscal Affairs (Ireland) Bill.
Savings Banks Bill.
Medical Profession Bill.

BILLS READ A SECOND TIME.

Commissioners, &c., Bill.
Extra-Parochial Rates Bill.

CONSIDERED IN COMMITTEE.

Commons Inclosure Bill.
Judgments Execution, &c., Bill.
Lighting of Towns (Ireland) Act Amendment Bill.

BILLS READ A THIRD TIME.

Commons Inclosure Bill.
Lighting of Towns, &c., Bill.

DEBATES.

HOSTILITIES AGAINST CHINA.

In the House of Lords, on Thursday, the debate on Lord Derby's resolutions condemnatory of the conduct of the British officials at Canton was resumed by

The Earl of CAMBRIDGE, who condemned in strong terms the proceedings of the British officers at Canton, and expressed the regret with which he had heard an opinion expressed on the part of the Government that it was impossible to deal with the Chinese unless they made them sensible of the law of force. Referring to the attempts of Sir J. Bowring to prevail on the Chinese authorities to give him admittance into Canton, he said it reminded him of the courtship of Lady Anne by Richard the Third, and he would ask, in the words attributed to that monarch—

"Was ever woman in such humour wooed?
Was ever woman in such humour won?
What! I who killed her husband and his father,
To take her in her heart's extremest hate,
With curses in her mouth, tears in her eyes,
The bleeding witness of her hatred by,
With God, my conscience, and these bars against me.
("Hear, hear," and laughter.)

And yet I do mistake my person all the while;
Upon my life I find—although she cannot—
Myself to be a marvellous proper person."

(Loud laughter.) Now, he could only say that, if Richard III. was an improper person on the throne of England, Sir J. Bowring appeared to him an equally improper person to represent England at Hong Kong.

Lord METHUEN opposed the resolutions.

Lord ST. LEONARDS and Lord WENSLEYDALE rose at the same time. There were calls for Lord St. Leonards, but Lord Wensleydale declined to give way until he was requested by Earl Granville to resume his seat.

Lord ST. LEONARDS took up the same ground on the law of the question as Lord Lyndhurst; and insisted that the Lord Chancellor had misrepresented the law of nations in stating that if a foreign nation gave a flag to a ship, and she went to a foreign port and there gave some offence, the foreigner was bound not to interfere with the ship, but must apply to the

country to which she belonged for redress. When Lord St. Leonards sat down,

The LORD CHANCELLOR rose to clear himself from the grave charge of misrepresenting the law of nations. His position was, that it depends upon the licence or register of each particular country to say whether a ship were a national ship or not, and that if the Chinese entered a British ship they contravened the treaty. He declared that his noble and learned friend fell into a grievous mistake in point of law in what he said respecting the ordinance. (Loud cries of "Order.") I admit that I am out of order. (The learned lord resumed his seat.)

Lord WENSLEYDALE then addressed the House. In treating the legal part of the case, he contended, that assuming the existence of the licence, whether it did or not give a national character to the vessel was not a point for the Chinese to determine. Respect was due to the national character as indicated by the flag and licence. Then he was of opinion, that the Colonial Legislature had a right to pass the ordinance under which the licence was granted; and he doubted whether it was even repealed by the Merchant Shipping Act of 1855. It is true that the Chinese of Hong Kong are still subjects of the Chinese empire; but the real question was, had the Government a right to redress itself by seizing with violence criminals in a ship actually possessing our national flag? We had no right to treat the seizure as a wrong when it occurred in the port of Canton, unless the Chinese had by treaty given us the right; as in this case they have. He also thought Sir John Bowring was mistaken in saying that the licence had expired. He concluded that the Chinese were wrong, and the British officers right in the course they had pursued.

The Earl of MALMESBURY reviewed the proceedings at Canton, and dealt severely with Sir John Bowring.

The Earl of ALBEMARLE justified the Government, not on the ground furnished by the papers, but from a consideration of the previous condition in which we, in common with other European nations, have stood towards that peculiar people, the Chinese.

The Earl of ELLENBOROUGH censured the whole of the proceedings; and spoke with great severity of "Doctor" Bowring:—

Much has been done to injure the national character, and for this Dr. Bowring was responsible—for this the Government have made themselves responsible; but for this I ask this House not to make itself responsible. (Loud cheers.) My lords, Dr. Bowring might, if he had desired it, at a later period, obtained the advantage of a personal interview with Commissioner Yeh—he might have employed his eloquence, which, however unappreciated by the House of Commons, yet, when translated into Chinese, might have been effectual with Commissioner Yeh. ("Hear," and laughter.) All these matters might have been discussed between Plenipotentiary Bowring and Commissioner Yeh. If Dr. Bowring considered that a desirable object, surely he might have obtained it without stipulating for those precautions for his own protection which he required—viz., to march with lighted matches and loaded guns into the yamen. But to require a conference under those terms, does any one believe that such a conference could have been conducted in quiet—that it would not have been interrupted by the outcries of the population, by volleys of musketry, by the yells of those engaged in deadly conflict? But this man's monomania, as my friend Lord Derby has well termed it, led him to insist upon a public reception, and to decline a private interview, at which alone matters could have been satisfactorily discussed. (Hear, hear.) Dr. Bowring, writing to Consul Parkes, says, "The Arrow had no right to hoist the British flag," to Commissioner Yeh he says, "There is no doubt the lorcha Arrow bore the British flag." And that man remains in office! (Loud cheers.) The Secretary of State approves the course he has taken (continued cheering)—a senseless and puerile course, a vacillating course, in first requiring a visit to Commissioner Yeh's house, and then bombarding the city. I cannot comprehend how any man, a British minister, seeing this conflict between these two passages I have read, should not instantly have brought them under the notice of his Royal mistress, and advised the Queen to direct him to tell Dr. Bowring that Her Majesty could not permit any man to remain in her service who could state the thing he believed not to be true. (Loud cheers.) So much for Dr. Bowring. I tell those who may have doubts as to the course they shall pursue that what we desire is the recall of Dr. Bowring. (Hear.)

Earl GRANVILLE said, the conduct of Sir John Bowring had been guided throughout by the strict law of the colonial ordinance, and the supplementary treaty of 1843. Had he acted otherwise, or by other rules, what would then have been said? Would not the Government have been charged with following the principles of the Manchester school, and preferring the paltry interests of commerce to the honour of the British flag? He most utterly denied the assertion made that night that Sir John Bowring received practical reparation when the twelve men were sent back to him. In fact, the whole of Sir John Bowring's proceedings were said to have been actuated by his monomania to be received in Canton as English minister, though those who urged that charge quite forgot that it was the motive which had actuated most of our public servants acquainted with the East, and even his noble friend, Earl Grey, when Colonial Secretary in 1845:—

The noble Earl (Derby), on Tuesday night, at the end of his very magnificent speech, made an appeal to the right reverend bench. This is not the first time that I have seen noble lords opposite, whenever they think that the right reverend prelates are not going to vote exactly as they wish, constitute themselves lay readers to the episcopal bench, and read a homily or a sermon to them on the occasion. (Loud cheers.) Sometimes the sermon is long and interesting, and sometimes it is short and tedious. I listened with attention to that advice, and the great truth which I evolved from it was that any right reverend spiritual lord who wished to obtain a short cut to fame and to establish for himself at once that he possessed all the virtues which could adorn a Christian

prelate had only to abdicate the right of private judgment and to put himself and his vote into the hands of the noble earl. (Cheers and a laugh.) I certainly do not venture to give one word of counsel or advice to the right reverend bench, because I believe that those noble lords will take the course which they think they are bound in their consciences to take, undismayed by the censures of noble lords opposite, or the pathetic lessons addressed to them for the purpose of obtaining votes.

If the object of the Opposition was to censure Her Majesty's Government, let them do so in an intelligible manner, and not cast blame on the exertions of those public servants who were totally undeserving such treatment at their lordships' hands.

The Bishop of Oxford condemned the conduct of Sir John Bowring in the strongest terms, and reprobated the conduct of a great Christian nation like England, spreading the horrors of war among a weak and unoffending people. He entreated the House to pause ere it gave the weight of its great authority to support an act so unjust and wrong as this. If they did so let them recollect that they were going against a Power which took its own time for vindicating eternal justice, and which never allowed a wrong to pass unavenged, and a Power which could find, if need were, in the very weakness of China sufficient elements to abase and rebuke the lawless oppression of this country.

Their lordships then divided, when there appeared for the motion—

Content—Present	53
Proxies	57
	—110
Not Content—Present	71
Proxies	75
	—146

Majority against the motion . . . 36

Their lordships then adjourned.

In the House of Commons, on Thursday evening, Mr. COBDEN moved the resolutions of which he had given notice:—

That this House has heard with concern of the conflicts which have occurred between the British and Chinese authorities in the Canton river; and, without expressing an opinion as to the extent to which the Government of China may have afforded this country cause of complaint respecting the non-fulfilment of the Treaty of 1842, this House considers that the papers which have been laid upon the table fail to establish satisfactory grounds for the violent measures resorted to at Canton in the late affair of the Arrow.

That a select committee be appointed to inquire into the state of our commercial relations with China.

Adverting to the extent to which the national conscience, he said, had been moved upon this question, and the large amount of sympathy felt with reference to the object of his motion, and premising that he had no motive but to arrive at a just decision. Sir John Bowring was an acquaintance of his of twenty years' standing, and he had, therefore, no vindictive feeling towards him. He wished the Government had not adopted a hasty decision upon the subject, and that it was open to the House to consider only how to do justice in the cause immediately before them. Mr. Cobden narrated the story of the Arrow, and the hostile proceedings that arose; and supposing that the occurrence had taken place in the United States instead of China, at Charleston instead of Canton, he asked whether we should have dealt with Charleston as we dealt with Canton. Not long since a law was passed in South Carolina which went much against the cherished opinions of this country, by requiring that when a coloured seaman (as much an Englishman as anyone in the house) arrived at Charleston, he should be taken out of the ship and lodged in prison till the period of sailing arrived. If anything was calculated to wound our sympathies as Englishmen, it was that act. Well, what would be done? Would Mr. Parkes send for a vessel to bombard the governor's residence? (Laughter.) No; he sent to the minister at Washington; and the answer that he eventually obtained from the Americans was, "We are in a difficulty; and you must have patience with us." Patience we had; we did not resort to force. Carrying out at length this analogy, the honourable gentleman proceeded to state, that instead of explaining the exact position of the lorcha, and apologising, Sir J. Bowring wrote that the Chinese had no knowledge of the expiring of the license. (Hear, hear.) He next described the case of Sir John Bowring as resting on a threefold illegality,—the license had expired on the 8th October; the license itself was illegal; and the ordinance under which it was granted contravened British law. He cited the opinion expressed by Lord Lyndhurst, that, upon the principles of international law, the Chinese Governor was right with reference to the Arrow, which was in no respect a British vessel.

But we have other grounds of testing the legality of this matter. When Mr. Parkes communicated the fact of this visit to the lorcha to Sir J. Bowring, he received an answer; and what was that answer? Sir J. Bowring, being then within twelve hours' steam from Canton, receives the letter written by Mr. Parkes on the 10th, and on the 11th he writes a letter, in which he says:—

"It appears, on examination, that the Arrow had no right to hoist the British flag—(hear, hear)—the license to do so expired on the 27th September, from which period she has not been entitled to protection. You will send back the register to be delivered to the Colonial-office."

And on the following day, when not called upon to refer to the subject, he says:—

"I will consider the regranting the register of the Arrow, if applied for; but there can be no doubt that after the expiry of the license protection could not be legally granted."

(Hear, hear.) Now, Sir, I might stop here. Here is the whole case. When he read that letter in the country, in the *Times*, he could not believe in the authenticity of the copy; and he accordingly sent to London for a copy of the preceding *London Gazette*—

There, however, was the same correspondence; and, wishing to save the character of the absent man, I be-

lieved that the letter must have been penned in a moment of hallucination. It was the most flagitious public document I ever saw. (Loud cheers.) Because it exhibits the avowal of a falsehood, and of the disposition to profit by it. (Hear, hear.) I frequently complain of the number of public documents which are laid before us in a mutilated condition; I always regard with suspicion any letters which are headed "Extract;" but what was the right honourable gentleman about who had the revising of these documents? Why did not he leave out that part of the letter? For the credit of the country and his own credit I wish he had. (Cries of "No, no!") At all events, let it be well understood that if we follow out the policy adopted by Sir J. Bowring upon no better foundation than this, we take upon ourselves the responsibility of his deeds and share the guilt of that statement. (Hear, hear.)

Admitting that the whole thing was illegal, and no lawyer of reputation not sitting on the Treasury benches would hesitate to get up and contradict Lord Lyndhurst, then it was said, the Chinese intended to insult us and our flag. What grounds were there for the assertion? Without wishing to travel out of this question, he would remind the House of the exceptional character of our trade in China. A great deal of irregular traffic was carried on on the coast, and this led to the Chinese occasionally boarding vessels suspected of smuggling. Here he read a letter from Mr. Cook, for four years United States Marshal at Whampoa, stating that he had seen ten or fifteen lorchas at Whampoa bearing the British flag, and that of these eight or ten were engaged in smuggling salt. The Chinese seized them, and the parties who had a right to fly the flag subsequently claimed their vessels. This is the testimony of a writer who wishes "every success to every one who will attack the Chinese," but one who thinks that in the case of the Arrow we "have not a leg to stand upon." Such transactions dishonour our flag. "Mr. Cook said to me, in a very significant tone, 'I don't allow any such doings as these under our stars and stripes.'" (Hear, hear.) Look at the advantage of having one of these licenses. A smuggler with a register can carry on a trade with nothing to fear except the occasional loss of a cargo. This is a reason why we should not assume that an insult was meant when the Chinese boarded the Arrow. Mr. Cobden eulogised, as Lord Derby had done, the moderate, courteous, temperate bearing of Yeh, contrasted with the arrogance of Mr. Parkes and Sir John Bowring. (Hear, hear.) He insisted that there was a preconceived design to pick a quarrel, and suspected that there must have been encouragement from head quarters. He contended that if the Chinese, as Lord Clarendon assumed, had shown a disposition to infringe the treaty, that some more statesmanlike mode of checking that should have been adopted. A garbled blue-book is laid before the House, entitled "Correspondence respecting insults in China,"—(cheers)—which only contains stories about a few riots, a few village rows. To prove that this book was garbled, he read extracts from papers previously laid before the House—extracts from the letters of Sir John Davis, Admiral Cochrane, General D'Aguilar—showing that the causes of acts of violence and disorder in China were "our own people, who are more difficult to deal with," wrote Sir J. Davis, in 1846, "than the Chinese government." Lord Clarendon had put the British merchants in China prominently forward. Now, no one could doubt his (Mr. Cobden's) sympathy with the mercantile classes; and he was desirous of seeing any course resorted to in order to remove them from their present danger. But he could not shut his eyes to the fact, that many of our merchants were engaged in commerce of a very exceptionable character, a traffic destroying the bodies and souls of the Chinese, and he did not think it beneficial to them that they were able to summon at an instant an overwhelming force as they deemed it, to redress grievances. As in times gone by with the agriculturists, so in the present with the Chinese merchants, they might have too much protection. (Laughter.) The same activity which had transferred trade in all its ancient rights in the Mediterranean from the English to the Greeks and Swiss, might cost us the Chinese trade. The Liverpool China Trade Association had lately asked that the present juncture should be taken advantage of for a readjustment of our trade with China; they wished that all the seas and rivers on the China coast should be opened to the world. Now, suppose this demand came, not from England but from Russia, and was addressed, not to China but to Turkey. And could anything be imagined more stunning than the commotion which would arise among those same Liverpool merchants, if just such a ukase arrived at their own town. (Laughter.) He could not help saying that such a document proved that some of our merchants were, out of selfish instinct, blinded to the interests of humanity. (Loud cheers.) Shipping and trade were carried on with greater despatch in China than elsewhere. These hostilities would have a tendency to diminish existing trade. Lord Palmerston had admitted that there was not adequate cause for the war; should they pursue it to please Sir John Bowring? (Hear, hear.) Canton was a walled town; its streets were about eight feet wide; and, therefore, practically the permission to reside in it would not be accepted. Canton would be of trifling use to us. Were the Chinese sincere in their expressed wish to carry out the treaty of admission to Canton? He believed that they were; and that at all events a chief reason for their present opposition to it, was the danger to the English when they came into the city in the sight of those who had lost by the destruction of their houses and the death of their relations. A letter from Seu to the Emperor, some years ago, touched on this subject. "The inhabitants of Canton who are anxious to fight are numerous; those conversant with justice very few." (Laughter.) Was it right that in a country bound to us by a treaty

of alliance the English governor should be allowed to commence and carry on war without the sanction of the House? Sir John Bowring had acted contrary not only to express instructions sent to him, but to the general orders relative to the troops at Hong Kong, for he had sent 100 men up to Canton. There were letters from Lord Malmesbury and Lord Grenville, rather unintelligible, and from Lord Grey, intelligible, giving him peremptory orders not, on any account, to enter upon hostilities without the concurrence of the Governor-General of India. In fact, from the time that Lord Clarendon came into office, we were "drifting into a war" with China, for want of a firm hand to grasp the helm of government. The general impression at Canton was, that the native merchants would never recover, that the trade would never revive. What then would be our position for the future? Lord Lyndhurst's opinion would be read everywhere. The Chinese would find his reprobation of our triple illegality; and we could find no defence to our conduct. Lord Clarendon had told us that the refusal of admission to Canton had nothing to do with the war. He took us in, on a quarrel, in which neither France nor America would join us. The Americans had protested against it; the war not having been declared, they proposed to hold the English liable for the damage. What did we propose to do? The Indian paper, the *Friend of India*, the great advocate for annexation, advocated the annexation of China. But neither America nor France would probably acquiesce. And if they would, did any one believe that we could annex an empire of 300,000,000? If we repudiated the acts of Sir John Bowring, who had commenced war without authority, the nation would be placed in a position to take any step that prudence might dictate; and England might unite with France and America in a joint representation to China, giving up the miserable affair of the Arrow, but seeking for increased facilities of intercourse with that great nation. He now left the subject in the hands of the House. It has been said in another place the Chinese people were a barbarous people, and that it was necessary to exercise force over them. It might be difficult, but not impossible, to govern the Chinese. They were now under an Emperor, the only exclusive monarch in the world, an empire which 2,000 years ago had a system of education, which studied science before Aristotle, which supplied the Romans with silks. Here they were an industrious people, not barbarians, but possessing all the arts and sciences except the art of war, a people who had carried agriculture to the condition of horticulture. There must be something in such a people, and if we did not understand them, it must be because their ways were not as our ways. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. LABOUCHERE replied to Mr. Cobden, and vindicated the conduct of the British officers at Canton. He said that Mr. Cobden had libelled the British merchants in saying that they advised the British authorities at Canton to adopt a course against which not only every English but every Christian and every human feeling revolts. [Mr. Cobden: "No, no!"] Mr. Labouchere: "Yes." [Mr. Cobden again denied, and demanded the words.] Mr. Cobden had said the Chinese are scrupulous in their dealings; Mr. Labouchere would appeal to testimony on that point, which Mr. Cobden himself thought of importance—a proclamation of the American Chief Superintendent at Macao. The proclamation stated, that the reply of the Imperial Commissioner.

With the semblance of a desire to maintain friendly relations between the two countries, showed that the same disposition to evade obligations, misrepresent facts, and erroneously interpret treaty stipulations, which for years has characterised the correspondence of Imperial Commissioners, still obtains with his Excellency Yeh. [Mr. Cobden: "What is the date?"] The date is December 27, 1856. I therefore imagine that it was put forward after the recent difficulty between America and China was for the moment settled; and expresses, not the effects of any temporary irritation, but the deliberate judgment of this the chief American officer in China as to the general character of the proceedings of the local Government at Canton.

With regard to the future, Mr. Labouchere hoped there would be no war with China.

I trust the result will be not only that commercial relations will be established between the English and Chinese authorities, but that our entire relations with the empire of China will be placed on a far more satisfactory footing. I believe these objects, which are not narrow or selfish, but such as may be sought by all civilised Christian nations, will be accomplished with the cordial co-operation of America and France. If that be the case, I believe that immense benefit will accrue in the first instance to the trade of this and all other European nations, and ultimately to the Chinese empire itself. (Hear, hear.) I trust in God the time may come, and that we may see it, when the vast population of the Chinese empire may be brought into communication with the more fortunate races which enjoy the blessings of civilisation, and that we may see them emancipated from the ignorance and thralldom of heathenism, and, above all, from that tyrannical and cruel Government which, like its commissioner at Canton, seems only to exist for the misery and degradation of the human race. (Hear.) I was surprised to hear a man like the honourable member for the West Riding talk about Commissioner Yeh with any patience. What does that honourable member think of the barbarous proclamation of Commissioner Yeh offering 100 dollars for every Englishman's head? (Hear, hear.) Does not that fact reflect some light upon the mild and humane disposition which my honourable friend attributed to Commissioner Yeh? ("Hear, hear," and a laugh.) Has the honourable gentleman read an account of the cruel murder of an unoffending French missionary and of other Christians under Yeh's administration? (Hear, hear.) These circumstances have excited the just indignation of Europeans, and I trust for the sake of humanity, for the sake of the world, and especially for the sake of China itself, that

measures will be taken to establish a better state of things in that country. (Cheers.)

Sir B. LYTTON did not think that the Secretary for the Colonies had succeeded in giving a very satisfactory reply to the powerful arguments of the honourable member for the West Riding. The honourable member asked, "How can a vessel that is notoriously Chinese in every stage of its history,—that is built, owned, manned, and litigated for by Chinese, with nothing English about it except a mere lad of twenty years of age, who was hired by the Danish Consul as the nominal master,—how can that be a vessel belonging to the English nation according to the plain meaning of the 17th article?" The only mode in which a Chinese vessel could become a vessel belonging to the English nation was by a colonial ordinance, and they might as well by a colonial ordinance attempt to turn a tea tree into an oak tree. (Laughter.) Our colonial ordinances may bind our own subjects, but neither a colonial ordinance nor even an Act of Parliament could have the effect of international law upon other nations, whom such ordinance or Act of Parliament may concern. As respects the lorcha affair, it was not a question of who was right and who was wrong, but whether the Chinese were so outrageously in the wrong as to justify the terrible punishment we had inflicted. (Cheers.)

Englishmen are not the Dracos of legislation. Every offence with us is not punishable by death. Are we mild philosophers in our domestic legislation and ruthless exterminators in the enforcement of points of international law? It would be a monstrous inconsistency if, while we are mitigating, and have for the last thirty years been mitigating, our criminal code, and dealing mildly with offenders who prey upon the very vitals of the State, we should wage a ruthless war—no, not a war, but a wholesale massacre on our helpless customers at a remote corner of the globe. (Cheers.) And what for? Why to maintain a trumpety ordinance which our own Board of Trade deems rather questionable, and which is at direct variance with the orders of our own Imperial Parliament. (Cheers.)

He was not astonished at the thrill of indignation that ran through the House when the honourable member for the West Riding, with that peculiar and enviable eloquence of his, alluded to the miserable argument that the Chinese did not know the true position of the Arrow:—

Why, Sir, here we have not only the telling of a lie, but the suppression of the truth, and this contemptible excuse for a great crime Lord Clarendon, a Minister of the Crown, does not hesitate to re-echo and approve. (Hear, hear.) In the magniloquent appeal with which the Colonial Secretary concluded his peroration he talked loftily of vindicating the honour of the nation. The honour of the nation! Sir, prevarication and falsehood have nothing to do with the honour of the English nation; they appertain rather to the honour of an Old Bailey attorney. (Cheers.) We have heard a great deal about the dissimulation and duplicity of Russia. I think, Sir, Russia will chuckle at our dealings with China. Here is a Minister of the Crown, the austere negotiator of the Paris Conference, the rebuker of Russian duplicity, aiding and abetting in what he may call a diplomatic suppression of the truth. (A laugh.) Then as to our right to enter the city of Canton. If the treaty were ever to be claimed by force of arms, then, while it was fresh, was the time to do it; and our right was much weakened by its tacit suspension for eight years. If our main reason for not enforcing it then was the prejudice of the Cantonese against us—a prejudice which the noble viscount so wisely left it to time to soften—how much must that prejudice be increased when we urged admission at the very moment we had been bombarding the forts, shelling the city, incensing the people, and leaving every man who has lost a son or a brother thirsting for revenge! In conclusion, the honourable baronet said:—

Your trade cannot prosper if you make yourselves an object of detestation to those with whom you trade. If you try to force a road for your merchants to the marketplace at Canton over the ruins of the city and the corpses of your customers—even though you may carry your tariffs at the point of the sword and surround your factories by armed garrisons and bristling cannon, I warn you that your trade will fly the place, for commerce recoils from unnecessary bloodshed. *Et udam spernit humum fugientie pennæ.* (Loud cheers.)

Sir E. PERRY, as an independent supporter of the Government, wished to state the course which it was his intention to pursue in the question before the House. Had it been a motion brought forward by the other side as a vote of censure, in order to turn the Government out, he should have felt it his duty to oppose it. But the resolution came from the Government side, and believing that every expression contained in it was founded in fact, he conceived it to be his duty to give his vote in its favour.

Mr. LLOYD DAVIS, while condemning the conduct of the British authorities at Canton, declined to support the resolution, as he considered that the appointment of a select committee on the subject was not expedient.

Sir J. RAMSDEN lauded the patience, justice, and forbearance of the British authorities at China, in their dealings with the duplicity and cruelty of the Chinese during a period of fourteen years. The case of the Arrow was one of many cases of unjustifiable insult to the British flag, and he gave great credit to the authorities for the manner in which they had acted at Canton. The Chinese had offered a price for the heads of Europeans, and international law did not apply in a case where there was no reciprocity. (Hear, hear.)

Sir T. HERBERT regretted that a British admiral had lent his aid to the atrocious transactions at Canton.

Mr. GREGSON defended the Canton merchants and Sir John Bowring from the charge of having sought cause of quarrel, or being imbued with bellicose propensities.

Lord J. RUSSELL had every disposition to pay respect to the wishes of the British merchants, but, at the same time, it became the duty of members of that House to decide, according to the right, the interest, and the honour of the country, and without reference to the interests of any particular class. (Cheers.) The question was divided into three heads: the first, the case of the Arrow; the second, the entry into Canton according to the treaty; and the third, the intentions of the Government as to the future, and the object of the operations that had taken place. With regard to the first question, Mr. Labouchere had stated that for the last two hundred years, there had been a practice of granting licences for specified purposes. No doubt such licences had been granted, and no doubt they were legal as far as they were not in contravention of any act of the Imperial Parliament. By an Act of Parliament it was provided that any ordinance must have the sanction of the Queen in Council; but no such proceeding had taken place in the case under consideration.

There were many Spanish subjects residing at Gibraltar, and supposing that one of them who had resided for three years had got one of these licences, and that he took on board a man who had been lately concerned in piracy, say one of the Riff pirates, does anybody believe that if that vessel were to go to Malaga or any other Spanish port, and that one of these men was identified as a pirate, the authorities would hesitate to arrest that person? I conceive the law to be that, although the British papers might have been of value in this country, they would be of no value whatever as against any other country. (Hear, hear.) Well, then, suppose that the Governor of Malaga had seized one of these men; suppose, too, he had been claimed from him by the British authorities, and he had refused to give him up—would the Governor of Gibraltar have ventured to ask the commander of our squadron to attack Malaga, to pursue the fleet and to blow up the forts? (Cheers.) It might have been that the Spanish authorities were in the wrong, but the case would have been referred home, and the home authorities would have demanded of the Spanish Government redress. (Hear, hear.) The question is not that our authorities at Canton raised a dispute, but that they attempted by force of arms to find a solution of the question when there was no urgency in the case to justify such a step. (Cheers.)

As to our right to enter Canton, the treaty was explicit. It gave us right to enter; but the right had been long in abeyance, and the advantage would be destroyed if attempts were made to enforce the right. Unfortunately, Sir John Bowring did not so think. On the contrary, he had increased the difficulty by adding to it another quarrel concerning the Arrow. After Commissioner Yeh's apology and return of the twelve men, Sir J. Bowring might have been satisfied. He might have said to Commissioner Yeh, "I consider this affair is over, but I shall report it to my Government, and it will be for them to say whether they think it necessary to take any further steps." (Cheers.)

Instead of that, however, on the 27th of October Admiral Seymour makes a formal demand of liberty to enter the city; and without allowing three months, or one month, or one week, but on the very day he proceeds to destroy the forts, and was that the way to demand redress? (Cheers.) It is at this point that the responsibility of Her Majesty's Government really begins. In the first instance, they received from Sir J. Bowring despatches informing them of what had occurred; and the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs writes back in answer that the law officers of the Crown had been consulted; that they were of opinion that the Arrow was legally entitled to the privileges of a British vessel; and that, therefore, they approved of the conduct of the British authorities at Canton. Then the Government say, "You have done right to take possession of the Imperial forts." So far at least, there was no harm done; but I think they ought to have added that the proceedings were to be carried no further. But when they received the account (which must have been about the end of December) that hostilities were being continued—that Sir J. Bowring and Sir M. Seymour had undertaken to raise this further question of the right of entrance, and that without giving sufficient time for a reference to Peking, the admiral had proceeded with the forts, and destroyed the Chinese fleet—I say when this news reached them, it does seem to me that Her Majesty's Government ought to have considered that these officials of the British Government had committed a serious offence against the justice of this country—(loud cheers)—that they had put in jeopardy our amicable relations with a great and populous empire, and that they had presumed to take upon themselves the solution of a great question which three Foreign Secretaries had declared should not be decided without reference home and without some deliberation. (Renewed cheers.) What, however, was done? On the 10th January, the Secretary of State informed Sir J. Bowring that Her Majesty's Government entirely approved of the course adopted by him. They gave their approbation in these words, unaccompanied by any explicit instructions; and I think that that was a neglect of a solemn duty which was imposed upon them. (Loud cheers.)

The last question was, "What is it that is to be our policy?" What did Sir John Bowring mean, when, in writing to M. de Courcy, he talked about "the revision of our treaties with China?" We have a right to insist on the strict fulfilment of the treaty, but we have no right to insist on new terms, without going to war; but two such contemptible pleas as the hauling down the flag of this miserable lorcha, and the refusal of admission into Canton, do not form a justifiable cause of war. Sir John Bowring may be insisting on new demands at this moment, "and we, the Commons of England, are not informed what these demands are." (Loud cheers.) Mr. Labouchere said that we were to emancipate China from its cruel and tyrannical government.

Mr. LABOUCHERE interrupted Lord John, to say that he only expressed a hope that the result would be to emancipate Canton from "the government of a man whom I believe to be one of the greatest possible

curse and inflictions to those under him." (Loud laughter.)

Lord J. RUSSELL: There is a new demand, at all events. (Loud laughter and cheers.) If we are not satisfied with the Emperor of China, and this gentleman who governs ten millions of people—[An Hon. MEMBER: Twenty millions]—is to be displaced, the Emperor will perhaps supply the vacancy on the recommendation of our Colonial Secretary. (Cheers and laughter.) Well, I really should have thought that after the experience lately of Her Majesty's Government at Naples, they would not have been so ready to interfere with the internal government of foreign countries. (Loud cheers.) Besides, the Emperor might say, "My commissioner may be a very intractable and violent man, but I cannot see that your superintendent has so very mild and easy a temper." (Loud laughter and cheers.) Lord John regretted that no expression of sorrow for the havoc and misery caused by our acts is to be found in the papers presented to Parliament. Sir, I think that under all the circumstances of the case it would have been but decent for them to have expressed their sorrow. (Renewed cheering.) In other cases where a flag has been used to protect a criminal purpose, my noble friend (Lord Palmerston) has with just indignation complained of such a prostitution of a flag. If the Chinese police had been told that the register of the lorcha was in the hands of the consul, it would have been found that, even according to Sir J. Bowring's own law, the vessel was not entitled to British protection. (Loud cheers.) And then the case would have fallen to the ground; that is to say, it ought to have fallen. (Hear, hear.) Sir, we have heard a great deal lately about our prestige, and in my opinion a great deal too much. We used to hear about the character, the reputation, and the honour of England; and the character, the reputation, and honour of England are dear to us all. (Loud cheers.) But if prestige is to be separated from character, separated from honour, separated from reputation, I, for one, have no wish to see it maintained. (Great cheering.) I should be sorry to hear it said, "It is true it is a bad case; we have been in the wrong, we have committed injustice; but we must persevere in that wrong, we must continue that injustice, otherwise the Chinese will not be afraid of us." If that is said, I reply, "Be just, and fear not." (Renewed cheering.) But even the prestige, not less than the character and honour of the country, will be raised higher than ever if it can be said, "A troublesome and meddlesome official—(cheers)—prostituted the arms of England, and committed hostilities; but the House of Commons, representing the people, would be no parties to what had been done—(great cheering)—and neither for commercial nor for political advantages would they consent to stain that honour which they all believe must be the true foundation of all greatness." (The noble lord resumed his seat amidst loud and often repeated cheers.)

Mr. LOWE solicited the attention of the House after an address which had been just received with so much favour. (Renewed cheering.) He would not attempt to reply to the noble lord's speech—(cheers)—but there were one or two points to which he wished to make some remarks. He justified the granting of licences at Hong Kong, by stating that the Chinese residents at Hong Kong are entitled to the protection of England.

Mr. WARREN moved the adjournment of the debate. Before the motion was agreed to, Mr. COBURN, explaining that his resolutions had been printed as one instead of two, was allowed to divide them; and the first resolution having been put by the Speaker, the debate was adjourned.

Mr. WARREN resumed the adjourned debate on Friday. He denied that the Chinese had given a fit occasion for war, and he challenged the law officers of the Crown to disprove the law laid down in the House of Lords upon the question. Commerce, he observed, was very good; but what were the interests of commerce compared with national honour? The House was ignorant of the secret instructions upon which Sir J. Bowring was acting, but they must presume he would not have ventured to pursue such a course if he had not relied upon a complete indemnity from the Government. They were sternly and severely scrutinising the conduct of the Chinese, as if they were a refined European nation, but he would ask whether the Chinese had not reason to charge upon this enlightened Christian country the guilt of corrupting the morals, ruining the health, and destroying the eternal happiness of the Celestial Empire?

The LORD-ADVOCATE undertook to say, and he argued upon the facts, that there was no ground for asserting that the international law had been transgressed by our authorities abroad. He contended that the Hong Kong Ordinance of 1855 was a valid law as respected the Chinese, and that whether or not it was contrary to our municipal law had nothing to do with the question.

Mr. WHITESIDE, at the commencement of his speech, said he must confess that he had had great difficulty in considering the case coolly, and certainly the speech of the noble member for London had excited his feelings. That speech had not been replied to by the Vice-President of the Board of Trade. (Hear, hear.) It was the speech of an English statesman—(hear, hear)—the speech of an English gentleman—(hear, hear)—every sentiment of which went home to their hearts. (Hear, hear.) And for his own part he was glad to find that in the House of Commons it was no easy matter to write down the reputation of an eminent man. (Hear, hear.) He maintained, in opposition to the Lord-Advocate, that the Hong Kong Ordinance, not having been ratified at home, had no validity, and he controverted other positions of the learned lord upon the legal points in the question, investigating as he proceeded the perplexed history of the lorcha with an amusing minuteness. The English officials at Canton had very little chance with the Chinese Commissioner, for he always reverted to the true point in the case, and that was that the lorcha was a Chinese ship. "Prove to me," said the Chinese Commissioner, in effect, "that

this is a British ship," but Sir J. Bowring, from his inability to answer the Commissioner, never did respond to that challenge. What he (Mr. Whiteside) remarked in the correspondence was that the Chinese Commissioner never spoke an untruth; he was sorry to have to make that distinction. (A laugh.)

He said solemnly and sincerely, that this bloody assault, in which it was impossible to tell the number of lives taken away, this destruction of property, this sudden and terrible infliction upon a populous and civilised city, filled him with amazement, and he asked whether, in addition to the other vices displayed in these proceedings, the vice of hypocrisy was to be displayed by those who defended them? (Hear.) He threw aside these blue-books. (Cheers.) The House had had enough of these blue-books. (Hear.)

Mr. HORSFALL believed that the insult to the Arrow was complete and intended. He repelled with some degree of warmth the charge of "selfish violence" which Mr. Cobden had preferred against the merchants of Liverpool. He should vote against the motion, because he should otherwise be guilty of an act of great injustice; because it would amount, in effect, to a vote of censure upon Sir John Bowring and Admiral Seymour—a most humane and gallant man,—as well as upon Lord Clarendon and Her Majesty's Government.

Lord ROBERT CEIL enforced the necessity of placing some check upon the representatives of England abroad, to prevent the recurrence of events which, like the one under discussion, had entangled the country in crime and peril.

Sir C. NAPIER urged that Admiral Seymour had done nothing but his duty. The British flag was insulted, and his course was clear.

Lord GODERICH, in supporting the motion, severely censured the conduct of Sir John Bowring, and asked whether the House was prepared to lay down the doctrine that the doings of our agents abroad, although they abused the prerogative of the Crown, must be approved.

Mr. BENTINCK could not vote for the motion, although approving it upon abstract principles, because he apprehended the complications that must ensue in China if Parliament interfered by a vote of censure with the serious questions now pending between the British and Chinese authorities.

He was certainly not a supporter of the present Government; he left them to fight their own battles and to make out their own case. They had at least this negative merit, that if they were powerless for good they were also powerless for evil, and that in these days was no small merit. (Hear.) There was no man in that House who would hail with greater joy than himself the advent to office of a pure Conservative Government, and he would gladly do all in his power to bring it about; but so long as he had a seat in that House, he would never, by any vote of his, be accessory to bringing into power—more particularly in combination with a Conservative Government—any of those right honourable or honourable gentlemen who, for the last few years, had been identified with all the anti-Protestant and democratic measures which had been brought before Parliament. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.)

Sir M. BERKELEY eulogised the forbearance and humanity displayed by Admiral Seymour.

Sir J. GRAHAM also vindicated that officer, and extended the vindication with some reserve to Sir J. Bowring, whom, however, he characterised as being more remarkable for his self-confidence than for the soundness of his judgment. (Laughter.) There was conclusive evidence that Sir J. Bowring was perfectly aware that, owing to the expiration of the licence, the lorcha was not entitled to British protection. After reading the two oft-quoted passages from Sir J. Bowring's despatches, he said:—

Now, I am addressing gentlemen who love truth, and I ask you, on whichever side of the House you may sit, putting these two passages in juxtaposition, can there be a doubt that the representative of Her Majesty advisedly, knowingly, and with an intent which I shall not scrutinise, practised a deliberate deception upon the Chinese Government, and, having so practised that deception, proceeded to exact terms which he enforced by the last extremities of war? (Loud cheers.) Any argument coming from him after an assertion so ill-founded and so directly at variance with truth is not much to be regarded; but he says that the ignorance of the Chinese of this fact nullifies the justification which they might otherwise plead. I should not have thought much of that if it had been confined to Sir J. Bowring; but I see with regret that in a despatch from the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs this very identical argument is used, that the ignorance of the expiration of the licence by the Chinese destroys any justification they might advance. (Hear, hear.)

Yet Sir J. Bowring still continued Her Majesty's representative at Hong Kong, though convicted by himself of conduct which would occasion the degradation of the lowest member of the law in this country. (Cheers.) Sir J. Bowring was bent upon obtaining a triumph, where all before him had failed, in the disputed question of access to the interior of Canton. He was bent on being received into that city amid admiring hundreds of thousands, surrounded with all the pomp and circumstance of a public triumph, tomtoms accompanying him, peacocks' feathers surrounding him, and all the attendant glories of a triumphal entry in his train. (A laugh.) Middle terms were offered to him. Outside the gate of the city, in the suburbs frequented by the British merchants, Yeh offered him a meeting, but he repudiated that, and he says deliberately that this disputed point was to him a matter of primary importance, with the view, as he considered, of promoting British interests. Mr. Labouchere had recognised a new motive for hostilities,—the emancipation of the people of Canton from the cruel government of Commissioner Yeh.

Mr. LABOUCHERE: What I stated was, not that we had any right to concern ourselves with the deposition of Yeh, but that I trusted that one of the results of

these operations might be to induce the Emperor to withdraw his support from this commissioner.

Sir J. GRAHAM: I understood the right honourable gentleman to say that it was desired to emancipate the people of Canton from the control of so cruel a governor as Yeh. (Hear, hear.) I really should have thought, for my own part, that the Government had had recent experience on points of this kind to prevent them taking such a view. Unless I am greatly deceived, one point insisted upon in the negotiations with Persia was the deposition of the Prime Minister of that country, and unless I am equally misinformed, the British Government have found it impossible to adhere to that condition. (Hear, hear.) If we are to go on stipulating, first for the deposition of the Persian Prime Minister, and then for the deposition of the Governor of Canton, I think our affairs in the East might well fill this House with alarm. (Hear, hear.)

Sir James concluded in the following strain:—

My noble friend (Lord J. Russell) remarked the other night that the language of the present day was that the honour of our arms required we should fight for our prestige. The word, I should observe, comes to us from a foreign country from which we learn the value of the term; but if this be prestige, I hope we shall have no more of it. (Hear, hear.) If, however, prestige be your object, do you think having spared Odessa, having spared Helsingfors, that it will redound much to the credit of our naval arms throughout Europe and the world to have destroyed the Bogue Forts and bombarded Canton? (Loud cheers.) Talk of the insulting language which has been used by foreign Powers with whom we quarrel! Why this doctrine of insisting upon Commissioner Yeh's expulsion from the Government of Canton is far more than Prince Menschikoff ever endeavoured to effect when he was at Constantinople. (Cheers.) I say that this is one of the most dangerous lines on which the Government can begin to move—(hear, hear)—and it is high time, I think, to arrest our progress in such a direction. (Hear, hear.) We have heard that at Canton there was a protest against these proceedings. I rejoiced, Sir, to hear the protest of Russell and Co. in this House last night. (Cheers and laughter.) Russell and Co. have been heard, not at Canton, but here; and I hope the effect of that protest will be distinctly marked in the division. (Hear, hear.) Of this, at all events, I am sure—that the speech in which that protest was entered will be memorable in our parliamentary annals when this miserable transaction of the lorcha shall be buried in oblivion. (Cheers.) Sir, the honourable member for Norfolk (Mr. Bentinck), who lately addressed the House, stated several reasons for the vote which he is about to give against this motion. He says it is nothing but an abstract resolution, a resolution which he cannot controvert, and against which he is not prepared to argue. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) But the honourable member takes views of general policy, and he says that he supports Her Majesty's present Government because he is most desirous of having a Conservative Administration at the head of affairs; and with that view he thinks it is most desirable to maintain the noble viscount at the head of the Government. (Cheers and laughter.) I congratulate the noble viscount upon the uncompromising support which the member for Norfolk gives him. I am sure it must be most agreeable to the gentlemen sitting on this side of the House to know the reasons for which the honourable member thinks the noble lord more anti-Catholic and more anti-Democratic than any other Minister. (Cheers and laughter.) I congratulate the noble lord on this support, and I congratulate the gentlemen around him on the motives upon which this support is based. (Renewed laughter.) I, for one, will wash my hands of the innocent blood which, in my opinion, has been shed. (Cheers.) My belief is that these debates will reach the hearts of the people of England. (Hear, hear.) I am satisfied that the division to which we are about to go will be regarded with immense interest by the people of this country. (Hear.) I do not think that Russell and Co., will be held subject to a very limited responsibility. (A laugh.) I think the responsibility of that vote is near at hand, and I believe every member in this House will be called to an account for that vote. (Cheers.) But whatever may be the question with regard to any human tribunal—(cries of "Oh, oh," from the Ministerial benches, and cheers)—that is not the only motive which influences me. In my opinion, the debate has proved that whether you regard this as a question of policy, or as a question of humanity, or whether you regard it in connexion with the most solemn of all considerations, and by the light of our Christian principles—"Oh, oh," and cheers)—these operations at Canton are utterly indefensible—(cheers)—and I never in my life gave a vote with a more clear and conscientious conviction of its propriety than the vote I shall record in favour of the motion of the honourable gentleman. (Loud cheers.)

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL began by analysing the arguments employed upon this question in the House of Lords. He ventured to say that any one who looked through the acts would agree with him that no single proposition which had been advanced in another place had the least application to the case before the House. (Hear, hear.) But it was not a little surprising for those who were so anxious to do justice to an absent friend to denounce him as having been guilty of an error on a point on which Lord Lyndhurst was at variance with Lord Wensleydale, and Lord St. Leonards and the Lord Chancellor were in direct opposition. (Hear, hear.) It was said that the Government here should have been better instructed—that they should not have endorsed the errors of Sir John Bowring. What were the Government to do? Sir John Bowring sent over the despatches. What was it the duty of the Government to do? The constitutional practice had provided the Foreign Office with a recognised legal adviser—a gentleman not dependent on the caprice of the Government, but one selected on account of his eminent talents and abilities. Lord Clarendon laid the whole of the papers before the Queen's Advocate, a man selected by Lord Derby's Government—(hear, hear)—and a better appointment could not have been made. The opinion of the Queen's Advocate was embodied in a despatch dated the 10th December, and the expression of poor Sir John Bowring, who had been held up to ridicule and reproach by those who avowedly assumed the right to criticise

his conduct, and who had been stabbed in the back by his familiar acquaintances—(cheers and laughter)—that expression was reiterated by the legal advocate of the Foreign Office, who said, and said most truly, "The expiration of the Arrow's sailing licence on September 27, previous to her seizure, does not appear to have been known to the Chinese authorities; and this, again, is a matter of British regulation which would not justify seizure by the Chinese." He had not the honour of any personal acquaintance with Sir J. Bowring—"hear, hear," and laughter—but he had seen much of his despatches, and if he was disposed to say anything in favour of an absent friend—(a laugh)—it would be that from all he had seen from these despatches he thought Sir J. Bowring was greatly disposed to celestialise. (Cheers and laughter.) In all that he had observed he appeared to evince a determination to maintain what he supposed to be the just rights of China; and if he was about to pass an opinion upon him he would say that instead of appearing anxious to gratify a misplaced ambition at the expense of the Chinese, he was rather distinguished, as was obvious in the case of the Shanghai duties, by a determination to maintain the rights of China, being convinced that by that means he was doing his best for the protection of British trade, and the advancement of British interests. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. R. PHILLIMORE and Mr. J. G. PHILLIMORE both rose at the same moment, and (amidst some laughter) moved the adjournment of the debate.

Mr. DISRAELI hoped the House would have come to a decision that evening. (Hear, hear.) As, however, the motion partook of the character of a vote of censure, of course if Her Majesty's Ministers wished the debate to be further adjourned there, would be no objection—otherwise he did hope they would be allowed to go to the division before the House rose.

There were conflicting cries of "Divide!" and "Adjourn!" Lord PALMERSTON said that the Government were quite ready to divide; but considering that many members wished to speak, he thought it not unreasonable that the debate should be adjourned. There were again cries of "Divide!" and "Adjourn!" but the adjournment was agreed to without a division.

AFFAIRS IN CHINA.

In reply to Earl Grey, on Monday, Earl GRANVILLE made the following statement:—

I have to state, with regard to the intelligence from China, that no further operations have taken place, except those necessitated by self-defence, but that the Chinese have offered rewards for the assassination of British subjects and incendiaries in Canton. It is impossible to say that there is at the present time any prospect of an alteration in the state of affairs that now exists. But at the same time there is no interruption whatever of our commercial relations with the other four ports. Under these circumstances it is impossible to say that there is any change in our present position. It is absolutely necessary not only for our interests, but for those of foreigners, that we should not appear to recede at Canton, as inconvenient results might follow, not only there, but at the other four ports, where our relations are satisfactory. With regard to reinforcements, they have been sent to Hong Kong. One regiment was sent three weeks ago.

HOSTILITIES AGAINST CHINA.

The adjourned debate on Mr. Cobden's resolution was resumed on Friday by Mr. R. PHILLIMORE, who contended that the cause of conflict was untenable, and the war itself unrighteous in origin and derogatory to the character of England. Assuming that the British authorities were right in regard to the Arrow, he contended that the legal course of proceeding was by reprisals, seizing property in pledge; that, moreover, full satisfaction had been rendered for the wrong, and that it was not lawful to make war or even reprisals for the punishment of a nation apart from reparation.

Sir G. GREY entered into an energetic vindication of the British representatives in China. He described the services and bore testimony to the talents displayed in their several departments by Consul Parkes, Admiral Seymour, and Sir J. Bowring. Adverting in detail to the late proceedings at Canton, he vindicated the course adopted by the authorities on the spot, declaring that the home Government, upon a deliberate review of the circumstances and in consideration of all the important interests which might have been compromised by any symptom of weakness or indecision, had given their cordial approbation to the acts of the Commissioner at Hong Kong and his colleagues, and were ready to assume the full responsibility for the consequences that had ensued. Defending the conduct of Sir J. Bowring, the Home Secretary showed, by many references to the published despatches, that every transaction accomplished during the late disturbance had been undertaken by common consent of all the functionaries on the spot, and after frequent conferences with Mr. Parkes and Sir Michael Seymour. The demand for the official reception of the British by the Chinese authorities, by virtue of the treaty, was made by Sir M. Seymour. The whole charge against the Commissioner had, he maintained, been founded either on misapprehension or misrepresentation:—

Before you come to a vote confirming this resolution, I entreat you to think of the consequences which will ensue from its adoption. (Hear, hear.) I don't now speak of the political consequences which may take place at home. ("Hear, hear," and a laugh.) I don't allude to rumours which, on the authority of one of those organs supposed to represent the opinions of some right honourable gentlemen opposite, intimate to us that if the present Government is overthrown there must be a reconstruction of parties, and that a Ministry is to be formed out of elements not altogether confined to one side of the House. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) These are matters of minor importance. (Cheers.) Every day's experience, all the information derived from people connected with the China trade or from persons arriving from the colonies whose

interests are bound up with that trade, confirm us in the opinion that if we had disapproved the course pursued by our officers at Canton, or if we had expressed but a half approval of their proceedings, with a view to shelter ourselves from any share in the responsibility, such a course would be attended with fatal results to the interests of British trade in China. (Hear, hear.) If you overlook this outrage there will be no security against the recurrence of similar insults, that the hands of British functionaries will be tied up, and that there will be no possibility of obtaining redress in such cases. (Cheers.) Such results will inevitably follow if you arrest these proceedings and say that the British are to restore the forts, embark their forces, place the Chinese in the same position in which they stood before, and are to abstain hereafter from asserting, on the part of the British flag, the rights which that flag bestows. ("No!" and cheers.)

Mr. ROBERTSON, having long resided in China, expressed his conviction that the insult conveyed by the seizure of the crew of the Arrow was altogether intentional. He proceeded to give illustrations of the cruelty, barbarism, and insolence of the Chinese. The question, he said, should be decided upon no party motive, but with regard to the heavy peril which, if we now drew back, would beset our whole position and commerce in China.

Sir J. PAXINGTON contended that the members of the Government who had spoken in the course of the debate had evaded the real question at issue. They ought, in his opinion, to have recalled Sir J. Bowring and Consul Parkes upon first receiving intelligence of their proceeding.

Mr. COLLIER reiterated a variety of legal arguments antagonistic to the resolution.

Sir F. THESIGER adopted a contrary view. He argued that a register granted under the colonial ordinance, itself of doubtful legality, could give no right as against Chinese authority, disputing, in the course of his argument, the legal positions laid down by the Attorney-General upon this point, and contending that the House had not been treated fairly by that learned gentleman, who, he said, after giving the House a certain amount of intellectual legerdemain, had disappeared in a cloud of authorities. Believing that in the case before the House the Chinese had perpetrated an intentional and premeditated insult, which it would have been unwise to overlook, he intended to vote against the resolution.

Mr. SIDNEY HERBERT said he would first state with what he agreed and with whom:—

In the first place, I agree with Sir J. Bowring that the Arrow was not a British lorcha:—(cheers)—I agree with Kennedy, the stripling from Belfast, in his statement that he knew that he was only nominally master, and that he believed that the ship was owned by a China man. (Cheers.) I agree with Mr. Book, of the Board of Trade, who says that the ordinance under which these licenses are issued is illegal. (Cheers.) I agree with Mr. Bridges, who was the acting Attorney-General for Hong Kong, who says that the British subjects to whom these licenses were issued were not British subjects at all. (Loud laughter and cheering.) And, lastly, I agree with Mr. Parkes, that if the Arrow had been legally a British vessel the reparation was far more than the occasion required. (Renewed cheers.) I also agree with the Lord Advocate and the right honourable Secretary for the Colonies, and with his absent friend in another place, the Lord Chancellor, that these matters are perfectly immaterial. (Hear, hear.)

It was said these Cantonese were blackguards, but did they ever know any seaport town which had not got a rascal population living upon its outskirts? ("Hear," and laughter.)

Remember, too, when you are using this language, that this is the very class of people whom you want by your ordinance to convert into British subjects. (Cheers.) What were the twelve men in the lorcha? Chinese, picked up from the very refuse and scum of the population along the Canton river, whom you put into this vessel with a register with no limit to it—a vessel, therefore, which might go into any port in the world, which might have come over to Hamburg, to Constantinople, or to Marseilles, and the crew might have got into a row at any of these places, and have gone with their Chinese faces and Chinese costumes up to the astonished British consul and said, each one of them, "*Ovis Romanus sum.*" (Great laughter.)

The allegations of Chinese barbarism and insolence were unproved, whilst the published documents gave reason to infer that Sir J. Bowring had long entertained the intention of opening the controversy respecting access to Canton, which he waited only for a favourable moment to begin.

In 1854 I find this sentence in a letter of Sir John Bowring to the Earl of Clarendon. At that time we were engaged in war with Russia, and he says:—

My reception within the city is a question which must for the present be made subordinate to more important matters. I did not think right to demand such a reception, as the enforcement would have required more time than I could now give to the matter; and—now mark this—I could not safely have carried on the controversy in the absence of the fleet.

(Cheers.) Is not this an indication of what Sir John Bowring anticipated when he began the controversy? (Hear, hear.) He writes again in July, 1855, and says:—

It would be idle for me to use any language of displeasure or of menace, altogether helpless as I am in the absence of the fleet. (Hear, hear.) I am informed by the Hon. Captain K. Stewart, of Her Majesty's frigate Nankin, that his peremptory instructions are to proceed to the north, and to join the admiral there.

And, from a subsequent communication, it seems that Captain Stewart does proceed to the north. Now, you see from this what was the meaning of an "auspicious" moment. (Cheers.)

Sir John Bowring, having got together a fleet, now thought "circumstances were auspicious" for requiring the fulfilment of the article of the treaty stipulating for access to Canton, and, in spite of repeated prohibitions from home, demanded the immediate concession of a claim which had been suspended so many years. It had been said that all these transactions had had the general concurrence of Sir M. Seymour. But

how was it obtained? By what he characterised as false pretences employed by Sir John Bowring, who had made, he said, a disingenuous use of despatches from home. A whole despatch had been suppressed in communication with the admiral, because it did not answer Sir John's views!

And for what purpose can this have been done if not to induce a humane man to use the gigantic force at his command against a defenceless commercial city? (Cheers.) I must say Sir John Bowring acted a most unwise part, even if he had had instructions in forcing this question on the Chinese. Are we not in the habitual violation at this moment of a treaty which says that all our efforts shall be used for the suppression of the opium trade? (Cheers.) Now, I don't pretend to be more virtuous than my neighbours. We know that this trade is necessary to Indian finance. ("Hear, hear," from Mr. Kinnaird.) My honourable friend (Mr. Kinnaird), I know, thinks this trade exceedingly abominable, and as it was the tendency of the ordinance and Sir John Bowring to encourage it, I think we shall have the support of my honourable friend. (A laugh.)

Were they come to this, that a governor or consul representing this country in a distant part of the earth was to exercise unquestioned that power which was here only exercised by the Crown? (Cheers.)

When my right honourable friend told us we were entirely mistaken, that Canton had not been bombarded, he could not have read the despatch of Sir M. Seymour, in which he says, "I am now shelling the city." (Hear, hear.) In another place he says he is dropping shot at moderate intervals. ("Hear" and laughter.) That is the moderation which has so pleased the Government. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Sergeant SHEE said if the law, as laid down by Lord Derby and Lord Lyndhurst in one House, and by learned members in the other, were correct, the treaty of 1843 was totally repealed. He, on the other hand, submitted that the law was correctly stated by the Attorney-General, and that the true construction of the treaty was that a Chinese ship, Chinese-built, Chinese-manned, the property of a Chinese resident at Hong Kong, registered there, was, to all intents and purposes, a British ship. Chinese residents at Hong Kong, since its cession, were, to all intents and purposes, British subjects, and, independently of this, the nationality of the ship depended upon the residence of the owner.

Mr. J. G. PHILLIMORE moved the adjournment of the debate.

Some opposition was made to this proposal, and a division was called, but none took place, and the debate was accordingly once more adjourned.

MISCELLANEOUS.

On Wednesday, the Commons considered the Judgments, Execution, &c., Bill. In Committee on Mr. Craufurd's Bill, Mr. J. D. FITZGERALD moved an amendment on clause 1, to the effect that "a copy" instead of a "memorial" of the judgment should be transmitted to a court out of which it might be desired to issue execution under this bill. The amendment was carried by 99 votes to 77. Mr. BOWYER then moved that the Chairman should report progress. Mr. CRAUFURD seconded the motion, in order that he might have time to consider whether it was worth while to proceed any further with a bill of which the Attorney-General for Ireland had succeeded in destroying the principle.—Motion agreed to.

The Hudson's Bay House of Commons Committee has sat during the week. Colonel Lefroy, Dr. Rae, and Sir James Simpson have been the witnesses examined. They all admit that a vast amount of rich land capable of cultivation does exist, but that from the uncertainty of the climate, the severity of winter, and the brevity and heat of the summer, the crops were scanty. They were of opinion, also, that to preserve the fur trade it must remain a monopoly, for, if the trade were open, trappers would kill the finer animals at all seasons and destroy the race entirely.

On Friday, Mr. PALK gave notice, that on going into Committee of Supply on the Army Estimates, he should call attention to the report of Sir John McNeill and Colonel Tulloch on the sufferings of the army in the Crimea, and also to the services rendered to the public by those gentlemen. Mr. LAYARD inquired whether a communication had not been made to Sir John McNeill and Colonel Tulloch, offering to them, as an acknowledgment of their services, 1,000*l.* each; and whether the offer had not been indignantly rejected? Lord PALMERSTON said, it was true that an offer had been made to Sir John McNeill and Colonel Tulloch in the terms described. It was declined, not indignantly, but very courteously. On Monday, Mr. J. EWART gave notice of his intention to move an address to Her Majesty, praying that the services of Sir J. McNeill and Colonel Tulloch might be substantially rewarded.

Mr. LAYARD asked whether Lord Palmerston received any information respecting the treaty alleged to have been signed between Persia and Russia; and was it true that the negotiations with the Persian ambassador at Paris had terminated? Lord PALMERSTON replied, that he had great satisfaction in stating, on the authority of the Russian Minister at this Court and the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs, that there was no foundation for the rumour of the existence of such a treaty. To use the words of the Russian Minister at this Court, "The whole is an entire fable." The negotiations at Paris with the Persian ambassador were still going on.

Mr. GLADSTONE, on Monday, gave notice of his intention to move, on the question that the House resolve itself into a Committee of Supply, a resolution that, in order to secure to the country that relief from taxation which it justly expects, it is necessary to revise and reduce the expenditure of the State.

Mr. LABOUCHERE, in reply to Mr. E. DENISON, said since he last addressed the House on the subject, the merchants having the exclusive licence to the guano island on the coast of Africa, had been to him and

stated their readiness to allow anybody to take guano upon payment of a royalty of 1*l.* per ton.

On Monday, Mr. MURROUGH moved for returns connected with the opium trade in the Presidency of Bengal, and the traffic with China during the years 1855 and 1856. He alluded to the horrors of the opium trade, and attributed to it the present dispute with Canton. The motion was agreed to. [On Monday, Lord SHAFTESBURY was to have moved a resolution condemning the opium traffic, but probably to suit the convenience of Government, it was not brought on.]

PARLIAMENTARY DIVISIONS.

The following is the minority of 73 (against 190) that supported Sir J. Walsley's motion yesterday week, that "a select committee be appointed to consider and report upon the most practical means for lessening the existing inequalities in our representative system, and for extending to the unenfranchised that share of political power to which they may be justly entitled."

Acton, Joseph	Freeston, Colonel	North, Frederick
Alecock, Thomas	Greene, John	Oliveira, Benjamin
Anderson, Sir James	Gregson, Samuel	Otway, A. J.
Bailey, Crawshaw	Hastie, Alexander	Paxton, Sir J.
Barnes, Thomas	Heyworth, Lawrence	Pechell, Sir G. B.
Beamish, F. R.	Kennedy, Tristram	Pellatt, Apsey
Bell, James	Kershaw, James	Pilkington, James
Biggs, John	Laing, Samuel	Pollard-Urquhart, W.
Bowyer, George	Langton, H. G.	Price, W. P.
Challis, Mr. Alderman	Langworthy, E. R.	Robartes, T. J. A.
Cheetham, John	Laslett, William	Roebuck, J. A.
Clay, James	Lindsay, W. S.	Scholefield, William
Cobbett, J. M.	MacEvo, Edward	Scobell, Captain
Cobden, Richard	McMahon, Patrick	Seymour, W. D.
Crook, Joseph	Maguire, J. F.	Smith, J. B.
Crosley, F.	Mangles, E. D.	Sullivan, Michael
Dashwood, Sir G. H.	Mangier, Thomas	Thompson, George
Devereux, J. T.	Miall, Edward	Thornely, Thomas
Dillwyn, L. L.	Milligan, Robert	Tite, William
Duncan, George	Michel, William	Warner, Edward
Dunne, Michael	Moffat, George	Williams, William
Ewart, William	Morris, David	
Feilden, Major	Mowatt, Francis	
Ferguson, Joseph	Murrough, J. F.	TELLERS.
Fitzgerald, Sir John	Napier, Sir Charles	Walsley, Sir J.
Fox, W. J.	Norrey, Sir D. J.	Hadfield, George

In the majority we find the names of Messrs. Baxter, Collins, Craufurd, T. Duncombe, Goderich (Lord), A. Hastie, Hindley, L. King, Shee, Strickland (Sir G.), Weguelin, and Wilkinson.

PAIRS.

FOR.	AGAINST.	FOR.	AGAINST.
Mr Clive	Mr Fuller	Mr T. Chambers	Mr Ald Cubitt
Mr Cogan	Lord E. Hill	Mr W. Long . . .	Mr Kinnaird
Sir J. Duke	Mr Bagshaw	Sir De L. Evans	Mr Vernon
Sir J. Shelley . . .	Mr Steele	Mr Brown	Mr Esmonds
Sir R. Currie . . .	Sir C. Coote	Sir W. Clay . . .	Mr H. S. Wad-
Mr C. Foster . . .	Mr S. Knox		ington
Mr F. Pigot	Mr B. Coles	Mr P. W. Martin	Sir E. Hayes
Gen. Wyndham	Mr Berkeley	Mr Fagan	Mr Pugh

Amongst the opponents of Lord Derby's motion on China in the House of Lords on Thursday, were the Earl of Shaftesbury and Lord Glenelg! Lord Brougham's proxy was used in favour of Ministers, as were the proxies of the following bishops: Bishops of Down, Durham, Hereford, Lichfield, Peterborough, St. Asaph, Winchester, and Worcester. In the minority which supported the motion, are the names of the Earl of Aberdeen, Earl Fitzwilliam, Earl Stanhope, and Lord Montague.

POLITICAL MEETINGS.

THE CONSERVATIVES.

The Conservative members of the House of Commons assembled on Friday morning, at the mansion of Lord Derby, in St. James's-square, to hear a statement from the noble earl. Lord Derby said he had heard it stated that the amendment moved by the honourable member for West Norfolk (Mr. Bentinck) originated in a feeling of disapprobation at the report which had been circulated of a coalition between the party which the noble earl was proud to lead, and the right honourable member for the University of Oxford. That report was totally false. He had never seen Mr. Gladstone upon the subject, nor had he ever held the slightest communication with him upon it. In reference to the important subject then before the House of Commons, Lord Derby expressed his entire approval of the resolution moved by Mr. Cobden. It was substantially the same as the motion he had introduced in the House of Lords, and had supported with all the earnestness of conviction, and all the ability he possessed. After Lord Derby resumed his seat, the meeting was addressed by several "representative men" of the House of Commons. Mr. Spooner was received with the respect due to the consistency of his political career, and the sincerity of his religious convictions. He spoke with generous warmth, denouncing the pretended zeal of Lord Palmerston for Protestantism, and expressing his entire confidence in Lord Derby as the head of the Conservative party. Mr. Newdegate expressed equally loyal sentiments, and with equal warmth. Colonel Gilpin, an independent member of the Opposition, not only declared his entire confidence in Lord Derby, but expressed his high sense of the services of Mr. Disraeli as leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons. The manner in which the right honourable gentleman's name was received must have been no less gratifying to him than to all the members present. We do not conceal our regret at the course which a few members—like Sir John Tyrrell and Mr. Bentinck—have thought proper to adopt. They have no doubt acted from conscientious motives of public duty. It is quite clear that if they prefer the lead of Lord Palmerston to that of Lord Derby, they cannot too soon change their places in the House.

[The above is abridged from the *Press* of Saturday. On Monday night Lord Derby repudiated its truthfulness in the House of Lords. "Although undoubtedly it bears on the face of it evidence of having

been furnished by some person who was either present or had heard what passed, it is," his lordship said, "in many instances grossly inaccurate, and with regard to which I am represented not only as saying what I did not say, but as saying exactly the reverse of what I did say."

MINISTERIALISTS.

A large number of Liberal members of the House of Commons responded to an invitation from Lord Palmerston to meet him at Downing-street, on Monday, at noon. Among them, in addition to the regular Ministerialists, were Messrs. E. Warner, H. Ingram, Major Reed, Sir G. Strickland, F. Mowatt, W. S. Lindsay, T. Thornely, A. Pellatt, W. Williams, R. Ingham, A. Dunlop, Captain Scobell, C. Cowan, W. Kirk, W. Ewart, L. Heyworth, J. Cheetham, F. Crossley, Ald. Kershaw, G. Muntz, O. Higgins, S. Laing, A. Kinnaird, T. Alcock, J. M. Cobbett, Sir W. Clay, E. Denison, R. Milligan, E. Craufurd, T. Barnes, W. Scholefield, W. Fagan, C. Hindley, D. O'Connell, Viscount Goderich, A. Black, A. Hastie, &c. In all there were about 170 members present. Lord Palmerston explained the motives which led him to convene the meeting. The Government were threatened with a formidable opposition owing to the policy which they had pursued in reference to the Chinese dispute, but he believed that they had the support of the country, and he hoped it would be found that they had not lost the confidence of Parliament. His lordship entered into an elaborate review of the Chinese question. He denied that the proceedings at Canton were the result of any peculiar views entertained by Sir John Bowring, and observed that Admiral Seymour had had the power to act independently of the British Plenipotentiary, and if the interests of the country had not required it hostilities would not have been decided upon. His lordship's address occupied upwards of three-quarters of an hour. We understand that the remarks which he made led to an inference on the part of many of the members present that in the event of an adverse vote on Mr. Cobden's motion, it is the intention of the Government to advise Her Majesty to dissolve Parliament—as the Ministers are persuaded that they possess the confidence of the country, both on this matter and on their general policy. The interview lasted for nearly two hours, several questions being asked of the Premier, and some differences of opinion manifesting themselves. It will be observed that neither Lord John Russell nor the members of the Peelite or Manchester party were present.—*Daily News*.

ELECTION INTELLIGENCE.

A petition of electors of the borough of Newport, Isle of Wight, praying that the election of Mr. Kennard be declared void, on the grounds of bribery, treating, and undue influence, of personal disqualification (as a Government contractor), and of illegal taking of the poll, has been presented.

There is also a petition against the return of Mr. Weguelin for Southampton, asserting that bribery and corruption were practised. It is prosecuted by the Conservative candidate.

Mr. Walter Buchanan has been brought forward as a candidate in place of Mr. McGregor for the representation of Glasgow. He addressed a meeting of electors on Thursday. He said he was for a gradual extension of the suffrage, would have voted for Mr. Locke King's recent notice. He would extend the burgh franchise. On the subject of the ballot, he must confess that his opinions are slightly changed. He was still inclined to advocate the ballot, but to advocate it with this modification, that it was a tentative measure which did not affect the organic basis of our representation at all. With regard to Maynooth, he was against sectarian grants of all kinds, but while the gigantic Irish establishments existed, he thought it was not a great matter to allow that endowment to continue till the Legislature was prepared to deal with the whole question of religious endowments in a comprehensive way. With regard to the Forbes Mackenzie Act, he thought it was time there should be an inquiry, but was not yet prepared to vote against it. With regard to the Lord Advocate's Education Bill, he approved of it, and would vote for a similar measure.

Mr. W. GOVAN, jun.: Would Mr. Buchanan, if returned to Parliament, be disposed to support a measure for the assimilation of the Scotch county franchise to the English county franchise? (Cheers.)

Mr. BUCHANAN: I have no objection, so soon as it will be evident that the counties of Scotland are quite ready to receive such a measure. ("Oh, oh," and hisses.)

Mr. GOVAN: Would Mr. Buchanan be disposed to support a measure for shortening the duration of Parliament?

Mr. BUCHANAN: I think seven years is too long—(hear, hear)—but I am not disposed to go to annual Parliaments, for that, I hold, would be very inconvenient. (Applause.)

Mr. GOVAN: Would Mr. Buchanan support the continuance of the *Regium Donum* in Ireland?

Mr. BUCHANAN: I am not disposed to withdraw the *Regium Donum* till some other measures are connected with that. I think that these grants should be dealt with altogether, and that, so long as the Roman Catholics receive the Maynooth Grant, the Presbyterians are entitled to the *Regium Donum*. (Cheers.)

Mr. GOVAN: Would Mr. Buchanan be disposed to support Mr. Miall's motion for the impartial disendowment of all denominations in Ireland?

Mr. BUCHANAN: My opinion is, that the Established Church of Ireland should no longer be tolerated in the country, and that if the Voluntary principle is to be tried at all the sooner it is tried in Ireland the better. (Cheers.)

Mr. GOVAN: Would you vote for Sir William Clay's motion for the abolition of Church-rates in England? ("Oh, oh," and hisses.)

Mr. BUCHANAN: That is a very large question, and involves a good deal of difficulty, to me at any rate, from the fact that these funds are of various kinds—the rates of the churchwardens, the rates voted by the parish, and the rates from cathedral property. It is a question, no doubt, on which Parliament will soon be called to legislate; but I am not really prepared to say at this moment what I would do. I must have more information before I can answer the question. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. GOVAN: Would you be in favour of opening the Crystal Palace and the British Museum on Sabbath?

Mr. BUCHANAN: There is no such question before the public mind, and I do not feel that I am called upon to answer.

Mr. GOVAN: Are you in favour of intervention or non-intervention in the domestic affairs of other States?

Mr. BUCHANAN: I think Mr. Govan has touched upon a subject which really requires to be arranged by Parliament. It seems to me that it is a great error in the administration of our foreign policy that our Secretary of State for the Foreign Department frequently commits us to war, and to other important measures, before Parliament can exercise any control—that the whole deliberations on these most vital points are taken practically out of the hands of the public, and vested in those of the Foreign Secretary. (Cheers.)

A resolution in favour of Mr. Buchanan was declared carried by acclamation.

Mr. Merry, ironmaster, who has started in opposition to Mr. Buchanan, met the electors to-day for the first time. He is supported by the spirit-dealers, in the hope that he may be able to relieve them from the pressure of Forbes Mackenzie's Bill. At a meeting of his friends, Mr. Merry said he was favourable to giving the franchise to every man who paid taxes,—in other words, that he would vote for universal suffrage. He stated that he did not understand the currency question, and was disposed to leave matters as they were. He was not disposed to disturb the grant to Maynooth, and he would relax the provisions of Forbes Mackenzie's Act, and assimilate the liquor traffic to that of England. He would support Lord Kinnaird's Bill for increasing the remuneration to schoolmasters, but would not agree to a compulsory system of education. He would support a Bill for the abolition of truck. A resolution in favour of Mr. Merry was put amid great confusion, cheering, and hissing. The meeting was a very stormy one, and several groups almost came to blows. The canvassing goes on with great keenness.

The nomination for East Sussex took place on Monday, at Lewes, in presence of some 2,000 persons. The two candidates were Viscount Pevensey and Mr. J. G. Dodson. The show of hands was largely in favour of the latter.

The election for North Leicestershire took place on Monday. Lord John Manners having been proposed, Mr. Frewen addressed the electors, and said he opposed the election of Lord John Manners purely as a matter of principle. Mr. Frewen, in conclusion, formally nominated the Hon. Major Henry Powys. Mr. Pickworth, a draper of Loughborough, here stepped forward, and nominated Richard Cobden, Esq., amid cheers and much laughter. Lord John Manners then addressed the electors. He said he should go to Parliament with the conviction that he was discharging his duty in maintaining to the best of his ability that fair fabric of tempered liberty which was called their glorious constitution in Church and State. His lordship then proceeded to review the foreign policy of the Government, and condemned the meddling interference with the quarrels of other nations. Their true policy, he said, was to avoid the extremes of either securing peace on terms dishonourable to the country, or plunging into war, except when absolutely necessary. A show of hands was then taken, and a majority being in favour of Major Powys, a poll was demanded for Lord John Manners, and the proposers of the other candidates declining to press the matter to a contest, his lordship briefly returned thanks and the proceedings terminated.

THE PAPER DUTY.

The Association for Promoting the Repeal of the Taxes bearing upon the Diffusion of Knowledge held its annual meeting, on Wednesday evening, at St. Martin's Hall. Sir Joseph Paxton, M.P., presided. The Chairman expressed his surprise at the Chancellor of the Exchequer's defence of the paper duty. In making his financial statement, instead of indicating any intention on the part of the Government to take off the tax, he rather indicated that they were in favour of it, though he was afraid in the present temper of the country to say so in as many words. The right honourable gentleman divided the tax under three heads—the tax on paper for printing, the tax on paper for writing, and the tax on heavy paper for packages, which latter, the right honourable gentleman admitted, was somewhat burdensome, but, on the whole, he said that he considered paper a proper article for taxation:—

In the interview which the deputation from the society had with the Chancellor of the Exchequer previous to the meeting of Parliament, the right honourable gentleman clearly showed by the questions he asked that he was completely ignorant of the bearing and incidences of this duty—its effect on the manufacturer and the bookseller—and the extent to which it enhanced the price of books. It was not the tax at its commencement that constituted the whole of the evil, but its bearing throughout the various ramifications the paper had to go through—the wholesale stationer, the printer, and the bookseller—before it came in the shape of a book into the hands of the purchaser of the book. The tax was imposed originally in 1712 as a war tax, and so it had remained ever since.

Dr. Epps moved the first resolution to the effect that "the excise on paper limits its supply and enhances its price, is ruinous to the small manufacturer, restricts the field for the employment of capital and

labour, and thus tends to produce pauperism and crime; and that the interest of the country imperatively demands that a less injurious mode of raising money be resorted to than a tax on so important a manufacture." He referred to the serious impediment which 1½d. a pound was upon the diffusion of knowledge, and argued that the tax was equally injurious to the manufacturer, the author, the bookseller, and the public. Dr. John Watts seconded the resolution. In America the cost of common wrapping paper was 1½d. a pound; here the price was 4½d. a pound, the difference being wholly attributable to the tax, and the interference of the exciseman. Mr. Ingram, M.P., stated that the paper trade was sensibly diminishing in this country. In the United States of America there were 750 paper-mills, producing 270,000,000 lbs. of paper a year. In England the production of paper was 166,000,000 lbs., only 155,000,000 lbs. of which were for home consumption. Mr. Serjeant Parry moved, "That the tax on paper is a tax on knowledge, which, by destroying the author's fund, deteriorates cheap literature, and checks the enterprise of the best publishers. That it ought therefore to be immediately repealed." This resolution was seconded by Mr. Helps. Mr. Milner Gibson, who was loudly cheered, then moved that the thanks of the meeting be given to Sir J. Paxton. This resolution having been seconded, was carried by acclamation, and the chairman having briefly acknowledged the compliment, the meeting separated.

FREE EMIGRATION TO THE BRITISH COLONIES.

A meeting of workmen desirous of emigrating to the colonies was held on Tuesday, in last week, at the great hall in Broadway, Westminster; Mr. Neale Porter in the chair. Five resolutions were passed, setting forth, that there is "almost absolute destitution" among the mass of the people; that the remedy for this distress is free emigration; that the emigrants desire to find a home in the British Colonies; and that they are willing, on condition of being sent out free, to bind themselves to repay the cost within a specified time. Mr. Drummond, M.P., for East Surrey, was present, and said that he had never in his life heard an hour and a half of such good speaking, and this was because the men who addressed the meeting spoke from their hearts. He approved of the object in view, and urged the workmen to press Government for the use of some of the idle ships to take them out to the colonies.

A similar meeting, consisting of several thousands of the working classes, convened by the British Working Men's Association, was held in Bethnal-green-fields, on Monday, for the purpose of promoting free emigration to the British colonies, and petitioning Parliament on the subject. Mr. Bowen, a mason, was called to the chair; and a series of resolutions, moved and seconded by working men, were carried unanimously, expressive of the opinion of the meeting that the only hope for the great number of persons who are thrown out of employment by the long continuous stagnation in the building and other trades is to be found in emigration to Australia, New Zealand, or Canada, asking from Government for a free passage to one of those colonies, on condition that the cost of conveyance be repaid by persons so assisted within a certain time after their arrival. A petition embodying the resolutions was read and adopted. A large body of those present formed themselves into a procession and proceeded to the office in Clerkenwell-green, to sign the petition.

Postscript.

Wednesday, March 4.

THE CHINA DEBATE.

DEFEAT OF MINISTERS.

The adjourned debate on Mr. Cobden's resolution was resumed last evening by Mr. R. PALMER, who spoke in favour of the motion. Colonel HERBERT followed, against it. Mr. N. KENDALL, from the Conservative benches, described the shots fired into Canton as "merciful," and intimated that he would vote against the motion. Mr. MILNER GIBSON spoke at length in its support, and asked, in the event of a dissolution, with what banner or "cry" would the present Government go to the country? "Peace, retrenchment, and reform"—or "The bombardment of Canton and no reform?" (Cheers.) If they meant to succeed they must pick up some new principles. Mr. BERNAL OSBORNE followed, and urged the novel argument, that if the acts of Sir John Bowring were disavowed, that disavowal would raise up a host of claims for compensation, and the attempt to do justice would cost this country five millions sterling. He hoped that the House would never allow a minister who had stood at his post during a period of trial and difficulty to be now sacrificed by a political conspiracy. Then came Mr. HENLEY against the Government, Mr. EGERTON in its favour, and Mr. J. G. PHILLIMORE neither one way or another, or rather with a speech in support of Mr. Cobden's resolution, and ready with a vote against it. Mr. B. COCHRANE spoke for the motion, and Mr. T. CHAMBERS, the antagonist of opium traffic, against it. Afterwards, Mr. ROEBUCK made a speech against the Canton bombardment of a very characteristic nature, and the house began rapidly to fill.

Mr. GLADSTONE soon followed, and the House of Commons has rarely presented a more exciting scene than while the honourable gentleman proceeded

to comment upon our proceedings in the Canton waters. The Duke of Cambridge, Lord Derby, and his brother peers, filled the seats beneath the strangers' gallery; the seats reserved for the diplomatic corps were crowded by those who represent the various nations of the world; and the members' benches, both below and above, were entirely occupied. It was unjust, he said, to make the commissioner at Hong Kong a scapegoat in the controversy. The aggressive policy, which he had somewhat clumsily carried out, was prompted by the Government themselves, who must be made answerable for transactions which had, in his opinion, tarnished the honour of England. Upon the high ground of natural justice he considered the policy of England utterly indefensible. We had broken our treaty obligations, organised a fleet of smugglers, and crowned our misdeeds by burning and bombarding a city in order to secure entrance for our envoy. Being strong, we had trampled upon the weak; and it did not strengthen our case that we had provoked the terrible retaliation of the weak against the strong. He denounced the argument that, having embarked in an unrighteous course, we should persevere, rather than incur the risk of appearing afraid:—

The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Labouchere) has made a complaint on the part of the Government that honourable gentlemen have had an irreverent habit of speaking about "the war in China." The right honourable gentleman says there is no war in China.

Mr. LABOUCHERE: With China.

Mr. GLADSTONE: There is no war with China—I thank the right honourable gentleman for the correction. No, Sir, there is no war with China. (Cheers.) There is hostility and bloodshed; there is trampling on the weak by the strong; there is terrible and abominable retaliation by the strong upon the weak. (Cheers.) You have been occupied in this house with revolting and harrowing details—Chinese bakers poisoning their bread; proclamations for British heads. Do you think that these strengthen your case? They do but deepen your crime. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. Gladstone wound up with an impressive appeal:—

I believe that if you have the courage to assert your prerogative as the British House of Commons, you will pursue the course which is most consistent with sound policy as well as with the eternal principles of justice. If you negative this motion, still the motion itself will go forth to the world as the seal of our disgrace. If you adopt it, what do you do? Then, what is the history of the case? Its history reads well for England and for this House. (Cheers.) Its history will then be this: subordinate officers of England, in a remote quarter of the globe, misconstrued the intention of their country, and acted in violation of the principles of right. The executive government failed to check them. The appeal was next made to the House of Lords—made as such an appeal ought to be made, with an eloquence worthy of the cause, and a cause worthy of the eloquence; but it was made to nobles, it was made to bishops—(looking towards the Bishop of Oxford, who was seated below the bar)—and it failed. (Loud cheers.) But it does not rest with subordinate functionaries abroad, it does not rest with the executive Government, it does not rest with the House of Lords, finally and in the last resort, to say what shall be the policy of England, and to what purposes her power shall be applied. That function lies within these walls. (Loud cheers.) Every member of the House of Commons is proudly conscious that he belongs to an assembly which, in its collective capacity, is the paramount power of the State. But if it is the paramount power of the State, you can never separate between that paramount power and a similar and paramount responsibility. (Hear, hear.) We have now come to the crisis of the case. England is not yet committed. But if an adverse decision reject the motion of my hon. friend, to-morrow morning England will be committed. (Cheers.) With you, therefore, with every one of us, it rests to show that this house, which is the first, the most ancient, and the noblest temple of freedom in the world, is also the temple of that everlasting justice without which freedom itself would be only a name, or only a curse to mankind. (Cheers.) And, sir, I cherish the trust and the belief that when you rise in your place to-night to deliver the numbers upon the division from the chair that you adorn, the words that you shall speak will go forth from the walls of the House of Commons as a message of mercy and peace, and also as a message of prudence and true wisdom, to the furthest corners of the earth. (Protracted cheering.)

Lord PALMERSTON then rose, and was received with loud cheers by his friends. The voice of the Premier (says the *Star*) was sometimes unnatural from excitement; his attitude was not a little imposing, but it was proud and haughty; and the only redeeming quality of the speech, as a whole, was an occasional flow of that genial nature which has made many of the efforts of Lord Palmerston highly acceptable. The noble lord adverted to the terms in which the resolution proposed by Mr. Cobden was couched, and which he contended were self-contradictory and inexpressive. An anti-English tone, he declared, prevailed through the whole speech of the member for the West Riding. The parallel drawn between the course pursued towards China and that adopted with regard to other countries in cases of difficulty was altogether inapplicable, since the Chinese admitted no envoys, and had obstinately closed all the channels of diplomatic intercourse with the Imperial Government. Acts could only be judged by the animus that inspired them, and of this, from a detail of the circumstances in question, he argued that there could be no doubt whatever. When the wrong had been committed the British representatives had shown themselves moderate in their demands for reparation, and the strong measures which ensued followed only upon the continued obstinacy and reiterated injuries on the part of the Chinese. The question at issue was not trivial. Although the actual grievance seemed insignificant, it imported the maintenance of existing treaties, and even the safety of British subjects at Canton, who would

be left exposed to outrage from a nation who were habitually treacherous, barbarous, and cruel. These consequences would be hazarded, not for the sake of a great principle, but to carry out the terms and secure the profits of a secret treaty concluded between parties in that house who had long been severed by bitter hostility, but now embraced this opportunity to consummate a coalition. If this unfortunate occurrence had not intervened, they were in communication with the government of France, and probably should have communicated with the government of the United States, in order to the sending of a friendly diplomatic mission to Peking, with a view to make arrangements for securing fresh commercial relations. Of course what may be done must depend greatly upon what is now taking place. France and America were entitled to ask for an arrangement of their treaty, and England, which has a right to be placed on the footing of the most favoured nation, will be also entitled to participate in any alteration which may take place. The Premier made his appeal to the House:—

The House has in its keeping not only the interests, the honour, and the lives of many of the most estimable of our fellow-countrymen, but also the honour and the reputation of the British nation—(cheers)—expressions which my noble friend the member for the city of London preferred, and justly preferred, to the foreign term *prestige*. (Cheers.) I say that this is a sacred deposit, that is a holy trust, and honourable gentlemen will do well to weigh in their minds and consciences the manner in which that trust should be discharged. They may think that by voting for the resolution they are only expressing their disapprobation of the shelling of an insignificant fort, and an attack on a public building in Canton; they may think that they are only recording their opinion that less strong measures would have been a sufficient and satisfactory atonement for the wrong which was done by the Chinese; they may think that they are only declaring that if they had been where Sir John Bowring is they would have acted somewhat differently from the manner in which he has conducted the affairs committed to his charge. Well, Sir, those are considerations which are highly honourable and which every man must respect. I would not wish any man not to give them their due weight. But I say that there are greater interests at stake in regard to the vote which is to be given this night, I say that you have now to determine a question of vast moment to great and important British interests—to great and important interests that exist—to great and important interests that may accrue, that you have not merely the property, but even the lives of many of your countrymen to protect; and I would appeal to those who disapprove of the law which inflicts on the greatest malefactors the penalty of death, to pause before they come to a vote by which it is to be feared they would be passing sentence of death upon many of their innocent countrymen. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Sir, I have trespassed longer on the attention of the House than I intended to do. Let me then say, in conclusion, that I trust that honourable members will not allow themselves to be led away by the eloquent flourishes which we have heard from some gentlemen who have taken part in the debate, but will look to the matter in its real character as bearing on the interests of the country; and I am satisfied that with the support of independent and honourable men—impartial men—men who are not wedded to any party, and would not be members of any coalition that may be formed—and there are in this House, and I trust long will be, many men who act independently, and exercise their own judgment on the various questions which are submitted to them—I am satisfied, I say, that the decision of this House will be such as to maintain the honour and dignity of this country. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. DISRAELI sought to fix the Government with responsibility, not merely for approving the violent proceedings of Sir J. Bowring after the event, but for sanctioning them beforehand. He commented upon the aggressive policy which the present Administration had pursued in Persia as well as in China, and described the various political entanglements with European powers to which that policy might lead. The right hon. member then adverted to the alleged coalition of parties on the motion before the House:—

The resolution was brought forward by the honourable member for the West Riding. On that (the Opposition) side of the House it received considerable but not unanimous support. He had the misfortune of differing with many gentlemen with whom he acted in political life, and who were his most intimate private friends. If he looked at the bench opposite he saw the noble lord the member for the city of London (Lord J. Russell). That noble lord was a party to this unprincipled combination. The noble lord the first Minister must settle that point with his late much cherished and honoured colleague. (Cheers and laughter.) Then there were gentlemen on the same side of the House who once acted in close connexion with the Conservative party. The apprehension that such connexion should be revived appeared to the noble lord the first Minister to be one of the most horrible things that could be imagined. (Laughter.) The first Minister was a man who of all men could not bear a coalition. He was against combination. Why he was the archetype of political combination without avowed principles. (Cheers and laughter.) Commanding a majority without the assertion of a single principle, without expressing any opinion on any subject, foreign or domestic, which could influence the nation, the noble lord at last found the time had come when, if he was a statesman, he must have a policy. (Cheers.) The very moment that the indignation of every man in the House accustomed to influence its opinion was raised against the policy of the noble lord, he complained that he was the victim of a conspiracy. (Cheers.) Let the noble lord not only complain to the country, but let him appeal to it. (Loud cheering.) He (Mr. Disraeli) hoped that his constituents would return him. If they did not, he should be most happy to meet with the noble lord on the hustings at Tiverton. (Cheers.) He should like to see the programme of the proud leader of the Liberal party. (Cheers.) No reform—new taxes—China war—and Persian invasion. (Cheers.) These were the things on which the noble lord might appeal to the country as the leader of progress and civilisation. He hoped the

House would not for a moment be influenced by the menaces of the noble lord. (Cheers.)

Mr. CORDEN made a very happy and good-humoured reply to the hard hits of Lord Palmerston:—

One word with regard to the terms of his motion. The noble lord and other members had found fault with it, and the noble lord had said that it was framed by a combination. He begged distinctly to state the circumstances under which it was framed. No one in that House saw the resolution except his right honourable friend the member for Manchester, its proposed seconder; and neither directly nor indirectly was any intimation given of it to any of the gentlemen opposite; no one knew of it, no one heard of it. How then could the noble lord charge him (Mr. Cobden) with a conspiracy to drive him from office. The noble lord had talked of combinations, but he had not gone the length of saying that he (Mr. Cobden) would gain anything by it. Whatever might happen, he (Mr. Cobden) would not come into office; and he would tell honourable gentlemen behind the Treasury Bench, that even if any change of government took place they need not expect that much calamity would follow it. (Hear, hear.) It was always assumed that heaven and earth were coming together if a government were going out; but he (Mr. Cobden) never knew a change of government but the people gained by it; and if there was a change of government to-morrow, either the right honourable gentleman opposite (Mr. Disraeli) or the right honourable gentleman near him (Mr. Gladstone) would be Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the effect would be the withdrawal of the budget—(hear, hear)—and they should have a reduction of two millions of expenditure. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) The noble lord had sometimes dealt hard blows to him (Mr. Cobden), which he always took in good part; for there was a polish in the noble lord's thrusts that prevented any one from being angry; and he believed that the noble lord excited few personal enmities in the House; but he could tell the noble lord that he thought he should make an excellent bargain for the country if he disposed of him in exchange for that two millions of reduction. (Loud cheers and great laughter.)

The House divided, when there appeared—

For the motion	263
Against it	247
Majority	16

The announcement of the numbers was hailed with loud and protracted cheering.

In answer to Mr. Gladstone, last night, Mr. V. SMITH said an estimate of the expenses incurred by the Persian expedition had been drawn up, upon the assumption that the war would last till December, 1857. He refused, however, to state what that estimate was. Mr. Smith also stated that the East India Company had, as yet, supplied all the men and munition for the operations in the Persian Gulf.

In the House of Lords, last night, the only business of importance was the Divorce and Matrimonial Causes Bill of the Lord Chancellor. There was a stirring debate on the subject thus raised; not the least interesting feature of which is the exposure which Lord Derby ventured to make of the conduct of the bishops—only two of them being present to advise the House on a question connected with the revealed will of God, while twenty of them had voted the other night on a question of politics and bloodshed.

On a division, the second reading was carried by a majority of 25 to 10. The bill was then read a second time.

THE DIVISION.

In our Summary we have given the names of many members of the Peelite and Liberal party who last night supported Mr. Cobden's motion. We subjoin a few more—

Baring, Rt Hon Sir F	King, Locke	Perry, Sir T E
Bell, James	Laing, Samuel	Scobell, Captain
Bowyer, George	Lalet, William	Smith, J B
Crook, Joseph	Lindsay, W	Swift, Richard
Gordon, Hon Arthur	McMahon, F	Thompson, George
Hadfield, George	Meagher, Thomas	Tite, William
Heyworth, Lawrence	Murrough, J P	Warner, E

The Ministers were supported by the following gentlemen:—

Anderson, Sir James	Cowan, Charles	Muntz, G F
Baxter, W E	Crosley, F	Napier, Sir C
Beckett, W	Denison, E	Norreys, Sir D
Bentick, G W	Dilwyn, L E	Reed, Major J H
Berkley, F	Drummond Henry	Sandon, Viscount
Blandford, Marquis	Duncan, George	Scholefield, William
Biggs, J	Duncombe, Thomas	Scully, Francis
Black, A	Hastie, A	Strickland, Sir G
Brown, H	Ingram, Herbert	Thornely, T
Butt, I	Kendall, N	Walsley, Sir J
Challis, Alderman	Kinnaird, Hon A F	Walter, John
Clay, Sir William	Martin, F W	Weguelin, J
Cobbett, J M	Martin, C W	Wilkinson, W A
Coffin, W	Milligan, Robert	

The *Daily News* states that at five o'clock on Monday, the Treaty of Peace between England and Persia was signed by Lord Cowley and Ferukh Khan.

A telegraphic despatch from Naples states that on Saturday last the Queen gave birth to a prince, being her ninth child.

The *Pays* says: "We learn by the latest news from China, under date of Dec. 15, that the Court of Peking had published a decree prohibiting all subjects of the Celestial Empire from trading with the English. Disobedience will be punished with death."

MARK-LANE—THIS DAY.

A very moderate supply of English wheat was on sale here, to-day, chiefly in poor condition. Selected samples of both red and white moved off steadily, at full quotations. Inferior parcels ruled dull, but not cheaper. We were fairly supplied with foreign wheat, ex granary; but the imports continue on a limited scale. The transactions were wholly confined to small parcels, yet prices generally were well supported. Barley was in short supply, and good request, at full quotations. Fine malt moved off steadily, at very full prices. Secondary kinds were dull. There was only a limited demand for oats, beans, and peas, at Monday's currency. The flour trade was heavy, yet no change took place in prices.

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The Nonconformist.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 4, 1857.

SUMMARY.

THE House of Commons, after a debate of almost unequalled interest, and an overwhelming display of influence and talent in the cause of humanity and justice, has recorded its sentence against the Canton tragedy, against its authors abroad and against its abettors at home. The "moderation and firmness" of our Canton officials, eulogised in the Queen's Speech, have become words of mockery. That premature verdict of Her Majesty's Government is reversed by the solemn decision of the House of Commons, after a four nights' protracted debate. Justice and compassion appealed in vain to Her Majesty's Ministers. Their sympathies cannot reach the poor massacred people of Canton—made to feel the vengeance of the British arm, because of their dislike to our wholesale system of organised smuggling, to our Chinese settlement at Hong Kong, where British subjects are created and Chinese lorchas turned into English ships, to the insults of British officials, and because we have a representative there whose vanity is equalled only by his incapacity. Justice and compassion appealed in vain also to the House of Lords, though spiritual peers sat there professedly as the jealous guardians of Christianity. That assembly refused to record a vote of censure on outrages inflicted on an innocent and crowded population without adequate cause by 146 to 110, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, at the head of thirteen bishops, deliberately justified the course pursued by Sir John Bowring, Mr. Consul Parkes, and Sir Michael Seymour, while only three were found to protest against the dishonour brought upon the English name, though they would have been in company with Lord Lyndhurst, Lord Derby, and Earl Grey. As Mr. Gladstone said, in his impressive speech last night, the appeal was made to nobles, and it was made to bishops, and it failed.

Last night, justice and compassion appealed to the last resort—the House of Commons, "the paramount power of the State," "to say what shall be the policy of England, and to what purpose shall her power be directed." Mr. Cobden's motion of condemnation was adopted by 263 to 247—giving a majority of sixteen in a House of 510 members. Though the division was so close, the result was, on many grounds, decisive. Twice the debate had been adjourned for the convenience of Government to allow time to bring up their supporters. It was also a question of confidence. Lord Palmerston deliberately put it on that footing last night. Then, though the majority was but small, the greater part of the talent and statesmanship of the House was enlisted in favour of the motion, and an overwhelming preponderance of sympathy, judging from ordinary criteria. Ministers have, without doubt, sustained a signal defeat.

How will they receive it? They might accept the verdict of the great council of the nation, recall the disgraced officials at Canton, and send out some man of mark, such as Lord Elgin, to put an end to the state of war that obtains, enter into fresh negotiations with the Emperor of China, and conclude a new treaty. But this course, however possible, and even probable, before yesterday, is scarcely likely now to be followed. Still less can we suppose that Ministers will resign office. There remains the alternative hinted at by Lord Palmerston, at the meeting of his supporters on Monday—a dissolution of Parliament. It is the last card of "the archetype of political combinations without avowed principles," as Mr. Disraeli described the noble lord, and will no doubt be played. The *Times* boldly avers that British feeling is in favour of our Chinese policy as represented by Palmerston and Bowring. "The result of an appeal to the country will prove that we are not mistaken in this estimate of our national spirit: for even a triple

coalition of party chiefs will not muster a majority of the British constituency round its questionable tricolour." We are at a loss to understand on what data the *Times* bases its conclusion, and can only charitably suppose that the infatuation which has distinguished its articles for the last fortnight has entirely obscured its judgment. But if war with China is to be the watchword of Ministers at the coming election, we may reasonably ask, "What are we at war for?" Is it that Sir John Bowring may march into Canton in the picturesque style described by Sir James Graham, or is it to conquer that city of a million and a-half inhabitants? At all events, a dissolution is imminent. Let the friends of reform, civil and religious, be on the alert in every town and in every county.

The *Times* sneers at the "triple coalition" against Lord Palmerston. Let us see of whom it consists, taking the division list of last night as our guide. Against the statesman "without a policy" we have Lord John Russell, Sir John Pakington, Mr. Gladstone, Sir James Graham, Mr. Sidney Herbert, Lord Stanley, Mr. Roebuck, Mr. Cardwell, Mr. Dunlop, Lord Goderich, Mr. Fox, Lord Robert Grosvenor, Sir Fitzroy Kelly, Mr. Layard, Sir E. Lytton, Sir Joseph Paxton, Mr. Pellatt, Mr. Miall, Mr. Spooner, Mr. Cobden, Mr. M. Gibson, Mr. Walpole, and Mr. Williams. The bulk of these are representative men, ranging from the extreme voluntaries and Radicals on the one side, to the ultra Protestants on the other. It will be hard, indeed, for a Minister with all the pluck and versatility of our Premier, backed by the thunder of Printing House-square, the Government influence in certain boroughs, and appealing to the constituencies on vague generalities, to make head against this hostile combination, who at least are agreed thus far—that the country can no longer be deluded with false pretences, but requires a definite policy, and is averse to a new war many thousand miles distant with the most pacifically disposed nation on the earth.

The remaining news of the week, with a single exception, is of inferior interest. On Monday, the treaty of peace between Persia and England was signed at Paris, but has yet to receive the ratification of the Teheran Government. It may, consequently, be some weeks ere the instrument is formally completed.—The Ballot Society has held an enthusiastic meeting at Manchester, and Mr. Whitehurst, its indefatigable representative, held out the prospect of an early triumph, if some twenty-five members of Parliament would confront the Minister of the day, and make their support conditional on his acceptance of their views.

NOTES FROM THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE great debate of the week—the only one to which we shall specifically refer—has arisen on Mr. Cobden's mild and judicious motion relating to the bombardment of Canton. Following so closely upon the commencement of a discussion on the same subject in the House of Lords, and expressing, as it may be fairly taken to have done the most subdued form of opinion entertained by a vast majority of the members of the Legislature, the motion of the honourable member for the West Riding naturally attracted a full House. It had not struck us, however, from anything we had previously heard or observed, that the motion was likely to endanger the Ministry. Even on Thursday afternoon, up to the moment when Mr. Cobden rose, we saw nothing to indicate more than a general interest in the question—and although, if asked to state what, in our opinion, would be the judgment of the House, we should probably have replied that the private conviction of nearly every individual member was in unison with that embodied in Mr. Cobden's resolution, we should hardly have ventured to anticipate that to any very threatening extent, such view would be publicly expressed in a vote of censure. The general course of the debate, therefore, took us somewhat by surprise—and revealed to us the gratifying fact that there are limits beyond which even Lord Palmerston would fail to command the tame and unquestioning support of the House of Commons.

We are not going to give a summary of Mr. Cobden's speech. For that we must refer the reader to another column. It was, perhaps, the most lengthened address which that honourable member has ever given to the House—and, so far as we can remember, the most favourably received. He began with some nervous hesitancy—easily accounted for by those who know the temperament of the man, and who remember the painful calamity which occasioned his absence from the House during so long an interval. But when he had cleared his first introductory sentences, and struck into the logical track which it was his purpose to follow out, it became quite evident that he had sustained no abatement of his peculiar power. Not only did he seize the attention of the House, but he held it in willing and oftentimes delighted captivity, for two hours and a half. At first, indeed, his critical and some-

what capricious auditory listened to him with cold respect. But he had not proceeded far before it might be seen by the most careless observer, that he was gathering into his train, not the convictions merely, but the sympathies of the great proportion of members present. Never did the honourable gentleman more skilfully adapt his mode of treatment to prejudices which he had to surmount. Never did he set his facts in a more judiciously-selected framework of sentiment. He was angry, where the House went with him in his anger—he was severe and caustic, where his severity would tell but little against his purpose. He administered praise with exquisite tact, and with an honesty of tone which made it doubly flattering—and even when in one instance he sinned against the feeling of the House, his sin was the venial one of excessive caution. Step by step he pushed his way through that rank undergrowth of sophistry and misstatement of which, in relation to this question, the soil of the Government press has recently been so prolific—and you felt when he had done, that you could see from one end to the other of the subject without the slightest intervening obstacle, and that he had pioneered the way to his motion in the most workmanlike manner. And all this he accomplished with a charming simplicity. Mr. Cobden cares nothing for the jingle of words. His eloquence is the eloquence of a logical arrangement of facts and truths in reference to his conclusion. Hence, he is never tedious. No one complained of the length of his speech on Thursday evening. To the last he riveted the attention of his hearers; and when he closed his case, and sat down, the House testified its admiration and sympathy by several rounds of cheering.

Poor, gentle, fluent, wordy, inefficient Colonial Secretary, why did the leader of the House put you up to stem the strong current of adverse feeling which, at that moment, was bearing down all before it? Was it etiquette, or was it necessity which prompted your chief to expose you to the full force of the tide of disapprobation? Surely, this is an exigency which requires something stronger than pompous oratory to meet and subdue. You seem to be aware of it. You assume an indignation which you can hardly feel, and attempt to fasten on the honourable mover a quarrel which is wholly beside the issue at stake. But it will not do. The House sees through your manoeuvre to divert attention, and will not be diverted. Aye! you may thump that box on the table as if you would burst in its lid, but the noise it makes will not scare away the hubbub of chat which your oratory fails to silence. A hard position truly—a position far beyond the powers of Mr. Labouchere, who, for some reason or other which we have hitherto failed to detect, always reminds us of Mr. Pliancy in "Pilgrim's Progress."

Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton rises to reply to Mr. Labouchere. It is a pity that his enunciation is so indistinct, and his elocution so violently demonstrative. His preparation appears to have been less elaborate than usual—but his diction is more effective, if somewhat less polished. He addresses himself mainly to the few points of defence presented in the speech of the Secretary for the Colonies. When he ventures upon an interpretation and application of international law, he gets beyond his depth, and loses much of his power. But, on the whole, his speech is a success—conceived in the true House of Commons' vein, personal, pointed, and yet careless—and his thrusts are vigorous and direct, every home-stroke eliciting hearty cheers. The House is getting excited, and one would almost suspect it must be midnight, instead of the dinner hour.

No! it is not, it cannot be, the true parliamentary "witching time," else we should not have Sir Erskine Perry on his legs, and comparatively deserted benches. The honourable member commences with a strange confession. Had the motion come from the Opposition side of the House, he would have looked upon it as a party motion and voted against it—but as it has been brought forward by Mr. Cobden, he will consider it on its merits, and vote in support of it. Bating this unfortunate *exordium*, there ran through the honourable gentleman's speech a vein of Oriental information, and of British common sense, which went some way towards atoning for the dryness and solemnity of his manner. But it is unfair to judge of a man's powers, whose opportunities for speaking are chiefly limited to the period of empty benches. It requires uncommon vivacity to overcome the disadvantages of such a position—a vivacity which Lloyd Davies certainly does not possess. Sir John Ramsden, besides being more favourably endowed, and more highly cultivated, was somewhat more fortunate, the House beginning to refill when he rose in defence of Ministers. But his line was not original—for he merely said well the things which have been reiterated again and again by the Leading Journal. We pass over Sir T. Herbert and Mr. Gregson, neither of whom was attentively listened to, and come to Lord John Russell.

Speculation had been rife as to the line the noble lord would take. He speedily made his intentions clear. In a brief speech, the arrangement of which was lucid, the arguments of which were strong and well put, the illustrations of which were happy, and the high spirit of which was of the most elevating tendency, he submitted in a judicial tone the marrow of the case, and concluded with a peroration rising without apparent effort to the highest standard of eloquence. It was, *par excellence*, the speech of a British statesman. It is impossible to describe the effect it produced. It bore down all opposition. It settled (for the night) the scruples of Ministerial doubters. It seemed to leave nothing more to be said. The response of the House to his various points was hearty beyond precedent, and when he sat down, the loud and protracted cheering seemed also to be unanimous. Mr. Lowe was put up to follow, rather than to answer him—for he disclaimed the intention of replying to a speech "received by the House with such signal favour." The excitement, however, was so general and so intense that he could not get a quiet hearing, although there was more substance in his few observations than in any of the speeches on the same side which had yet been delivered. On the whole, it was a damaging night for Ministers; and if the division had been then taken, they must have sustained an ignominious defeat.

Mr. Warren opened the adjourned debate on Friday. The honourable and learned member has not yet learned to adapt his style of oratory to the taste of the House. But he is coming nearer to it, and will, perhaps, after a little more exercise, mature into an effective debater. He spoke in support of Mr. Cobden's resolution. The Lord-Advocate followed him. Mr. Moncrieff is an able speaker—but he was not himself. He seemed to be cowed by the difficulty of the duty he had been bidden by his chief to perform. His confident manner had forsaken him—he was explanatory and apologetic. But he probably did what few members of the Administration could have done equally well—gave a plausible and colourable aspect to the somewhat desperate position of the Government. Mr. Whiteside entered the lists against him—a powerful but questionable ally at best; for such is the acrimony of his party spirit, that too commonly, like elephants in battle, he does more harm to his friends than his foes. He is always eloquent—generally masterful—and, perhaps, he displayed more of his good points without the usual abatement, in this discussion, than might have been anticipated. And now, we must link together half-a-dozen names, with a single remark on each. Lord Robert Cecil, in support of the resolution, was sensible, but not very effective. Sir C. Napier, against it, was pithy, warlike, and egotistic. Lord Goderich delivered himself unimpressively of a speech, the staple of which deserved larger success. Mr. Bentinck, agreeing with the resolution in the abstract, would not vote for it, fearing its practical result would be the overthrow of an Administration which fully answered his desires as a *Conservative*. Sir M. Berkeley eulogised the humanity of Admiral Sir Michael Seymour.

Sir James Graham's was the speech of the second night's debate. And yet we have listened to him more than once with much greater pleasure. He opened with a lively outburst of congratulation on the advantages secured to Lord Palmerston by Mr. Bentinck's recognition of his Conservative policy. But having made this sly hit at his former colleague, he entered upon the merits of the case in his heaviest manner. It was not until he took Sir John Bowring in hand that he warmed up—for the right honourable baronet seems to enjoy himself most when he is flaying a victim. His imaginary picture of Sir John's desire to enter Canton, tom-toms accompanying him, peacocks' feathers flying over him, and myriads of Cantonese dying of curiosity to see him, was one of the most contemptuous and severe rebukes of diplomatic vanity we remember to have heard. But Sir James, when he seriously enounces great moral sentiments, labours under the disadvantage of invariably pointing to some equivocal passage in his own history, which illustrates it by contrast—and when, as in the closing of his speech, he refers to his conscience, and makes his appeal to the higher influences of religion, he provokes a titter, which makes one believe that, if he be sincere in his professions, he is unfortunately and shamefully misunderstood. The Attorney-General, with his sleek manner and mincing enunciation, his polished and perfect sentences and affected tone, closed the night's discussion with an elaborate exposition of the law of the case, which was so original as to upset all the reasonings of his colleagues on the same question in both Houses of Parliament. But the audacity of his positions brought down upon him many a laugh, and when he resumed his seat he was not considered to have greatly improved the aspect of the case.

His arguments were sifted with much power

by both Mr. R. Phillimore and Sir F. Theigier on Monday night—and by the latter gentleman were held up to the ridicule even of the unlearned. But, not to follow each successive speaker on this third night, and (as it became plain before nine o'clock) not the last, of the debate, one cannot help noticing that the activity of the whips, and the meeting in the morning at Lord Palmerston's, have produced an appreciable effect. A majority, it is whispered, has been secured for Ministers. The area of cheers which greet a good point in any speech against the resolution, has become somewhat more extended, and their volume fuller than before. The speakers, too, are more triumphant in their air. Thus Sir George Grey, who followed Mr. Phillimore, was never more animated, never more full of point. His castigation of Sir James Graham was inimitable, and was evidently witnessed by both sides with a relish. In picking to pieces his opponents, he exhibited the utmost promptitude, dexterity, and power—in speaking to the merits of the question, his skill lay in evasion. It was, by far, the best speech of the night, and gave us quite a new idea of the gladiatorial ability of Sir George Grey. Nor should we omit to distinguish Mr. Sidney Herbert, whose acuteness, humour, and pathos, gave a temporary freshness to a much-jaded theme. But the night was a dull one—not for want of really good parliamentary oratory, but because all the topics in discussion were thoroughly exhausted. One cheer there was, which stirred every one's blood—so spontaneous, so loud, so prolonged, so oft-renewed was it—and that cheer marked the feeling of the House at the vote given by the Bishops in the House of Lords. It was elicited by Mr. Phillimore, who expressed his regret that they should not, at least, have absented themselves from a division which would probably involve "the blood of many."

Last night, or more correctly speaking, at an early hour this morning, this great and momentous debate was brought to a close. With the exception of an able speech from Mr. Roundell Palmer, and an impassioned outburst of indignant declamation from Mr. J. G. Phillimore, we heard nothing specially worthy of the occasion until Mr. Gladstone rose. Mr. Roebuck, indeed, cannot speak indifferently on any subject, but it did not strike us that he rose last night to the height of this great argument. As to Mr. Chambers, member for Hertford, considering his antecedents, he seemed to us to have voluntarily bound upon himself a badge of discredit which he will never get rid of. Mr. Osborne, silent so long, found a tongue to chant Lord Palmerston's praises and to vituperate his foes—but it was in the coarse hustings style, unsuited to the dignity of the assembly whom he addressed. But Mr. Gladstone's was the loftiest strain of eloquence to which it has ever been our good fortune to listen. With what a strong hand did he brush away the flimsy sophistries which had been woven about the question! With what a dignified severity did he fling back the personal imputations which had been heaped upon himself and his friends! Above all, with what majestic earnestness did he summon the House of Commons to assume their proper responsibility and to give their verdict in accordance with justice! It was a true Ciceronian effort, radiant, however, with the glorious sentiments of that religion which Cicero never knew. After such a display, Lord Palmerston's reply cut but a sorry figure. The noble lord, surely, anticipated an adverse issue—for he was angry, abusive, and, in point of argument, signally deficient. His most attached supporters pitied him, shrugged their shoulders, and got beyond the reach of his voice. Mr. Disraeli commented on the noble lord's effusion with wonderful spirit and point; and Mr. Cobden, in a few modest, but most pertinent and telling sentences, closed the debate. Strangers were ordered to withdraw. The question was put from the Chair—the House divided—and the result took every one by surprise. Ayes, 263; Noes, 247; majority against Ministers, 16. Loud cheers hailed this solution of the question, and every man hastened home in confident expectation of an immediate dissolution of Parliament. Mr. Disraeli sarcastically suggested as a fitting election cry for the noble lord, "No reform—more taxes—Canton in a blaze—and the Persian war."

THE GREAT DEBATE.

A MORE complete case than the indictment preferred in both Houses of Parliament against our officials at Canton has rarely been presented before a judicial tribunal. It appears to us that a jury in a Court of Justice, free from all bias and party leanings, would be utterly unable to resist the overwhelming evidence supplied by the official papers that Sir John Bowring, Consul Parkes, and Sir M. Seymour were not justified in resorting to hostilities with the Chinese authorities at Canton.

In the first place, it is clear from the dispatches, that the idea of exacting the fulfilment of the

article of the treaty providing for the admission of foreigners into Canton, has for some years been, as Lord Derby phrased it, a "perfect monomania" with our Chief Superintendent at that port. Whether he is writing to Lord Palmerston, Lord Granville, the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Malmesbury, or Lord Clarendon, he is ever harping upon that one string, and each of these Secretaries of State has enough to do in peremptorily warning him not to involve his country in unknown difficulties by pressing a claim which they had so long deemed it politic to waive. He is perpetually adverting to the "auspicious moment" when the right should be enforced—a phrase which simply meant the presence of an imposing naval force in the Chinese Seas. So much for the antecedents of the Canton tragedy.

A headstrong and unscrupulous British official, bent on picking a quarrel in a distant region, is not long in finding a fitting occasion. In October last, an unusual number of ships of war were assembled in the neighbourhood of Canton. Sir J. Bowring's "auspicious moment" has arrived, and the Arrow dispute follows. To the "flagitious" deception practised by our representative at Hong Kong, we will not now advert. Commissioner Yeh, though stoutly, and—according to the high authority of Lord Lyndhurst—justly, maintaining that the *lorcha* was a Chinese, and not a British vessel, makes reparation to the offended dignity of our officials, by returning the whole of the captured crew, and promising, in future, to refer such matters to our Consul. A Chinese junk had been seized by way of reprisals. Now, if Sir John Bowring had not been possessed with this "monomania" of getting into the city *per fas aut nefas*, he might have been satisfied with this reparation, till he had referred home for instructions, or at least allowed the matter to be settled in a diplomatic manner. But this would not have suited his cherished designs. The *lorcha* case is put in the background, and a new demand is made through the English Admiral, (who expressly states that it "is in no way connected with former negotiations on the subject,") that "the foreign representatives should have the same right of access to the authorities as had been invariably conceded at the other ports." Subsequently Consul Parkes reiterates the demand in a spirit which invited resistance. What time was given for an answer? Three or six months to enable the authorities to communicate with the Government of Peking, and for that Government to deliberate upon the matter? No; Consul Parkes continues, "And the naval Commander-in-Chief will thus be compelled to again resume offensive operations in the course of this morning." No reply being received, "offensive operations" are at once resumed, the Chinese fleet captured, the forts taken, the Governor's house in the suburbs bombarded, and subsequently the city itself shelled by our ships of war. Is it unreasonable to suppose that at any one of the stages of these disastrous attacks on a commercial city, Sir John Bowring might without injury to British interests have stopped short and waited for the authority of the Home Government to wage war? But he was resolved on exacting his cherished treaty-right against the injunctions of successive Secretaries of State. Does any principle in international law warrant this sudden substitution of one demand for another, after the first has been virtually conceded? Yet our officials at Canton are not only absolved by their superiors at home, but praised for their "firmness and moderation!"

It is remarkable, as showing the small cause there was for the resort to such extreme measures and the generally friendly feeling of the Chinese authorities, that only a few days before the case of the Arrow came up there had been a dispute settled with respect to a British subject who had violated the treaty. So forbearing was the conduct of Commissioner Yeh, that "monster," as Lord Palmerston last night repeatedly described him, that Consul Parkes, in a letter to Sir John Bowring, spoke of the handsome manner he had behaved to the offender, and his gratification that due reparation had not been demanded by the Chinese official. Yet, in the course of another fortnight, we find Yeh insolently accused of deception and subterfuge by this same representative of the British name, and threatened with the horrors of war because he refuses to grant demands made in violation of treaty, and after one claim for satisfaction had been satisfied.

It is unfortunate that so clear and overwhelming a case of intentional and wicked aggression upon a weak Oriental power should be decided in Parliament by considerations foreign from its real merits. The question which both Houses have had before them is, not so much whether our officials at Canton acted with moderation and wisdom, but how the Government should be shielded from the consequences of identifying themselves with these acts of violence and injustice. The claims of party, the threat of a dissolution, the apprehension of giving encourage-

ment to Chinese arrogance, and the presumed necessity of supporting our representatives at a distance in any course to which they have committed the nation, have, no doubt, been far more influential in determining the votes of many members in both branches of the Legislature, than the convictions of truth. How many of those who have on these several grounds voted in favour of Ministers would give their sanction to the policy pursued by Sir John Bowring, if it were simply a programme for the future? The adoption of Mr. Cobden's motion would, Sir G. Grey declared on Monday night, be regarded by the Chinese as a confession that the English had been in the wrong from the beginning, and that they (the Chinese) were entitled to reparation for all that had been done, and even the Americans might perhaps set up a claim for compensation. Was the House prepared to adopt a course which was so likely to prove disastrous to the colony? Thus, because we have done wrong, we are to persist in the wrong, because of imaginary inconvenience which would be entailed. Is this a safe or even politic principle to guide the judgment of the Senate which has in its keeping the honour of the British people?

Besides, can our position at Canton be worse than it is at the present moment? Hong-Kong is a commercial settlement, and its prosperity and the extent of its mercantile operations entirely depend upon the cultivation of friendly feelings with our customers at Canton. We have ruthlessly and wilfully broken all the ties that united us to that great commercial emporium. We have coolly ruined our own interests for a phantom. Our factories are destroyed, our merchants are obliged to take refuge at Hong-Kong, and all trade is suspended. We have driven the Cantonese to phrensy by destroying their fleet, battering down their forts, shelling their city, and absolutely destroying the suburbs of a populous city which contained thousands of houses. Can we wonder that the Chinese should seek revenge for this inhuman outrage in every possible way—by cutting off or poisoning the supplies of food, setting a price on the heads of Englishmen, and murdering such as fall into their hands? The policy supported by the full weight of the Home Government is as senseless and inexplicable as it is wicked. Our "colony" is now besieged by a hostile and enraged population. Does the Home Secretary expect a still more "disastrous" state of affairs?

We rejoice in the belief that the moral influence of the past week's discussion will have a more abiding effect than the registered decisions of Parliament. The insolence and aggressive spirit of British officials in every part of the world have received a salutary rebuke. Our leading statesmen, Lord Derby, Lord Lyndhurst, Lord John Russell, Sir James Graham, Mr. Sidney Herbert, and Mr. Gladstone, have united in condemning that meddling dictatorial policy which has been the fruitful source of strife, hostility, and bloodshed in foreign countries. The just and generous sentiments uttered in the course of the debate, and applauded with so much heartiness in both Houses, can scarcely fail to exercise a lasting influence wherever British authority extends. We trust that we are entering upon a new era in our foreign policy, which will survive when the party interests and contentions of the hour are forgotten. Lord John Russell's dignified peroration will have a future as well as present significance. We cannot better conclude than by quoting these admirable sentiments, and expressing a heartfelt hope that they may become the recognised principle in our international relations:—

Sir, said the noble lord, we have heard a great deal lately about our prestige, and in my opinion a great deal too much. We used to hear about the character, the reputation, and the honour of England; and the character, the reputation, and honour of England are dear to us all. (Loud cheers.) But if prestige is to be separated from character, separated from honour, separated from reputation, I, for one, have no wish to see it maintained. (Great cheering.) I should be sorry to hear it said, "It is true it is a bad case; we have been in the wrong, we have committed injustice; but we must persevere in that wrong, we must continue that injustice, otherwise the Chinese will not be afraid of us." If that is said, I reply, "Be just, and fear not." (Renewed cheering.) But even the prestige, not less than the character and honour of the country, will be raised higher than ever if it can be said, "A troublesome and meddling official—(cheers)—prostituted the arms of England, and committed hostilities; but the House of Commons, representing the people, would be no parties to what had been done—(great cheering)—and neither for commercial nor for political advantages would they consent to stain that honour which they all believe must be the true foundation of all greatness."

PALACE PRISONS AND PRISON FARMS.

WHOEVER may be Secretary of State for Home Affairs, at the time appointed for the second reading of Sir George Grey's Bill for the improvement of our criminal discipline, some improvement must be effected; and we are anxious that it should be as radical as possible. To this end, Mr. C. Pearson's pamphlet—published at the

* London: Hall and Virtue.

request of the Lord Mayor—may form the text of a discussion at once more comprehensive and more practical than that which was stimulated by the late ticket-of-leave panic. As the days grow longer, and the season less severe, we may expect to hear something less of the garotte; but it will be a great pity if public attention be diverted either by the diminished excitement of police reports or by a protracted political crisis, from the thorough revision of our penal system.

Mr. Pearson complains that existing prisons are so costly, and even luxurious, in proportion to the general habits of the class from which their occupants are mainly drawn, as to be rather places of relaxation than of punishment—very expensive to the community at large, and by no means abhorrent to the people whom they are intended to awe and terrify. He takes, as an example of this system, the county gaol at Reading, a structure similar in appearance to that picturesque edifice at Holloway, to which the Lord Mayor lately paid an unexpected visit. The internal arrangements are of that scientific nicety, that the ventilation is superior to that of any nobleman's town mansion or country seat; the variations of temperature being only about two degrees, while in less comfortable dwellings it is eighteen. Hot air is supplied to every cell, thermometers being in every corridor, and carefully noted every few hours. The apartments thus nicely warmed and ventilated, are plainly but not uncomfortably furnished. In place of the old mattress spread upon a rug, the prisoner has a swinging hammock, well provided with blankets and rugs. During the day, he works at mat-making, or other light employment, varied with reading, instruction, and attendance on religious service. When it is added that his food is superior in quality and quantity to that of any pauper, and of most labourers, it only remains to ask, what is his punishment? To which it is replied, by the chaplain of this exemplary establishment—Our principle is, "seclusion as a punishment, labour as a relaxation, and scriptural instruction as a corrective."

Now, considering that labour is the one thing which the voluntary and habitual thief detests and avoids, the "relaxation" alluded to must consist in a very light and agreeable form of occupation. Accordingly, we find that the occupants of Reading gaol are set to no crank work, or other physical labour, harder than that of a pump—to which two men are set, though one would suffice. It is permitted and recommended that they apply themselves to knitting or oakum-picking; but as no stronger inducement is held out to pursue these highly productive employments, the light-fingered gentry—whose success in trade depends on the nicety of their touch—very naturally decline them. Yet can we easily conceive the most inveterate idler glad to escape from the sole companionship of his thoughts to some such diversion for his fingers. The seclusion is, indeed, a punishment—intolerable to contemplate, and sometimes too hard to bear. It is infinitely too severe a punishment, if a punishment at all; but it is only more cruel to the criminal than to the community. Unless he can occupy his brain with schemes of hypocrisy and hopes of release, surely it must stagnate into idiocy—and, in any case, why are honest men taxed that a rogue may be either coddled or tortured? For it is in vain that we are pointed to the daily attendance on religious service, the frequent conversations with a chaplain, and the lessons of the schoolmaster, and the sedentary practice of a trade. There is a fatal defect in all this,—whatever the surplussage of mechanical appliance,—since there is no provision for the healthy influence of labour, at once compulsory to a certain degree, and optional beyond that degree. It is not the heart, but the brain, that is softened under the continual dropping of scriptural precepts, which the recipient has no opportunity to apply.

We have not the space now to enter upon the converse of all this—the scheme of self-supporting prison discipline of which Mr. Pearson is the distinguished advocate. But we may quote here his emphatic testimony to the mischievous consequences of the unnatural system of the cellular prison police; elegance without, the perfection of organisation within; a high pressure application of sanitary maxims and spiritual influences—but a total want of common sense, and fearful exceptions to common humanity:—

I have expended some hundreds of pounds in employing trustworthy agents silently and secretly to trace the effects of the solitary system upon the afterlife and conduct of those who had been subjected to its operation. The information I have received from others, and the results of my own investigations, induce me to admit that, in many cases solitude has softened the hearts of the criminals—but at the same time it has softened their hands, and in many of such cases, their brain likewise—it has, in many instances, subdued their unruly wills—but it has also crushed their powers of volition for good as well as for evil—the prison education has doubtless frequently instructed their minds—but the knowledge they acquired was soon forgotten, because their study was not bestowed upon subjects that could procure them a meal after quitting the prison walls. But the really important question is, have solitude and merely recreative labour, when combined with the scrip-

tural instruction of the able and zealous chaplains of the cellular prisons, fulfilled the predictions which the advocates of the separate system put forward as the peculiar characteristic which gave it a proud pre-eminence above all other systems of prison punishment? has it led to the conversion of the souls and the reformation of the lives of the criminals committed to their charge? My answer is, it has not. By the zealous and earnest exertions of the chaplains, many of the more intelligent among the prisoners have doubtless been grounded in the mysteries of religion, and taught to admire the beauty of virtue, as I once heard Lord Brougham express himself on this subject; but experience has proved, as I never failed to predict would be the case, that the study of mental religion and theoretical virtue, as taught in these prisons, has not had, and will not have, any practical effect in diminishing either the number of prisoners committed to our gaols, or the number of crimes they may be induced to commit when exposed again to the cares and difficulties—the trials and temptations which they have to encounter when excluded from the shelter of the prison walls.

Spirit of the Press.

The daily papers, like Parliament, have been greatly occupied during the week with the great debate on the Canton hostilities. Rarely, in our view, has the *Times* fallen so much below the mark, as in its articles on this subject, which have been perverse in arguments and singularly uninteresting. The *Daily News* keeps up the position it at the first assumed on the question, and has been supported in the same line by the *Morning Star*. But for the thorough investigation of the whole subject, an analysis of the official papers, and a high-toned morality in dealing with the subject, the public have been specially indebted to the *Daily News*. We rejoice to see our Liberal morning contemporary walking so steadfastly, in spite of all party consequences, in what seems to us the straight path of political rectitude.

At some length the *Spectator* aims to show that the additional tea duty, to be proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, will be borne by the import trade, and not by the consumer, and that Lord J. Russell's amendment will probably involve a loss of revenue. "But if it should not, there are two courses open to the Chancellor of the Exchequer—either to cut his estimates according to his tea duties, or to make other trades bear a portion of the continued war-taxes."

The current of feeling in Parliament, and the meeting of Conservative members, put the weekly organ of the party on the *qui vive*. "It is impossible to foretell the political changes which are in store for us. We know only that the Administration of Lord Palmerston cannot last, and that from its constitution it is impossible that it can fulfil the wants of the country, or even satisfactorily conduct necessary public business." This is towards the closing of an article reporting the meeting called by Lord Derby. The *Press* says that the meeting was held at the noble earl's house in St. James's-square, but on Monday Lord Derby said it was not. Whom are we to believe—the peer or the journalist? We look to *John Bull* to resolve our doubts, and find that Lord Eglinton's house was the rendezvous of the Opposition.

The *Economist* is discussing the "expenditure which can be cut down, and expenditure which must be increased." Our contemporary thinks that "sixteen millions well expended, under an improved and effective administration, is a good sum for a peace establishment;" but that our postal, consular establishments, harbours, lighthouses, and other facilities for commerce along our coast will involve additional outlay.

The *Leader* keeps its eye on the reform question. Apropos of Sir J. Walmsley's motion, it says:—

While the old Registration Associations are dissolving, while political life is languid outside of Parliament, while a new Reform Bill is treated as a chimera, while annual motions are made and not believed in, the House of Commons will never be influenced in favour of that comprehensive measure to the immediate introduction of which Lord John Russell has objected.

Let the Liberal party understand that "pressure from without" is as necessary now, as at any previous time. However desirable a tranquil state of public opinion may seem, it is not by tranquil public opinion that great reforms have been effected.

The *Spectator* speaks cordially of the Scotch Freehold movement which was last week before a London audience, and the object of which is to extend to Scotland the English law which gives the owner of a freehold worth forty shillings annually a vote in the county.

Lord Palmerston may have committed the Government against any attempts at reform; but the signs of re-awakened life are unmistakable, and the Scotch movement is heartily hailed by English sympathizers. This appeared at the half-public meeting in Palace-yard on Tuesday, where allusions to the debate on Locke King's speech were not wanting; but the signs of sympathy have not been limited to that public manifestation; there is a feeling of pleasure at any sign of reviving life in Scotland as well as in England.

The *Morning Star* cannot understand why the present Ministry should be considered in many quarters worthy of preservation. A war Ministry, it is argued, is not a good Ministry in the time of peace, for its inherent tendency is and must be warlike.

What we now want is a Ministry that will foster a spirit of good-will and mutual confidence amongst the various nations with whom England is brought in contact. What we want, also, is a Ministry that will steadily and honestly devote its best efforts to political reform, and to the promotion of the moral and material welfare of the people of England. The present Ministry and its supporters in the newspapers have kept up a feeling of irritation in the breasts of our opponents, and, at the same time, loosened the bonds that united us with our allies. Moreover, the Ministry is now carrying on an impolitic war in Persia and a disreputable war in China; and it has evinced a strong inclination to foster a taste for war in the minds of the people; as if it were deemed prudent now that our navy is so formidable and our war material and war stores so abundant, to strain every nerve to make or find an opportunity to turn them to account. As for its efforts to promote the people's interests at home, they are to be found in the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Budget. The wealthy and comfortable classes are relieved, but the poorer portion of the population is deprived of a promised boon—namely, cheap tea and cheap sugar.

Foreign and Colonial.

FRANCE.

The *Moniteur* contains a note referring to some uneasiness and doubts with regard to the views of the Government upon the subject of the new system of instruction adopted in the University. This uneasiness, it says, and these doubts are without any foundation. It is the firm intention of the Government to maintain and to respect that system of studies in its essential elements, such as it is now established, and thus to continue that just satisfaction which the indispensable alliance between literature and science is calculated to afford.

The *Siccle* has received a second warning on account of an article on the legislation concerning the press, the inconsistencies of which have given an opportunity to a great many of the French journals just now to embark on a crusade for the conquest of a greater degree of independence. A third warning would put a stop to the existence of the *Siccle*, which now stands in the same position in this respect as the *Gazette de France*.

The subscribers to the English reading-rooms in Paris were on Sunday deprived, by authority of Napoleon III., of the following long list of English papers: The *Athenaeum*, *Examiner*, *John Bull*, *Leader*, *Saturday Review*, *Morning Advertiser*, and *Morning Herald*.

It has been stated that the Princess Lieven bequeathed 8,000*l.* a year to M. Guizot, expressly to pay for the expense of a carriage. "Fearing," says the *Nord*, "that M. Guizot would scruple to accept the legacy, the Princess resolved so to make it as to render a refusal impossible. Accordingly, about an hour before her death she wrote on a piece of paper with a pencil, 'Thanks for twenty years' friendship. I hope you will accept the carriage for the evenings.' She handed this note to her son, and told him to give it himself to M. Guizot when she should be dead. M. Guizot has accepted the *souvenir*, so honourable and so affectionately offered."

TURKEY.

Intelligence from Constantinople, of the 20th, states that Mehemet Bey (a Hungarian) had accepted the command of the independent Circassians. Four hundred men of the now disbanded Polish Legion have embarked for Circassia on board English (merchant) steamers, towing ships loaded with stores and arms.

The English fleet will remain at Buyukdere till the 24th of February.

English functionaries have undertaken the management of the electric telegraph between Varna and Constantinople.

A decree of the Sultan has been issued ordering the formation of a gendarmerie on the model of that of the French.

AMERICA.

By a vote of twenty-five to twenty the Senate had laid over the Dallas-Clarendon Central American treaty until the 5th day of March, the first day of the new Administration. The South was said to be opposed to it, amendments and all, on account of the slavery clause.

The Atlantic Telegraph Bill has been committed to a Committee of Ways and Means by a vote of 112 to 74 votes, thus indicating its success.

It was considered probable that President Buchanan's Cabinet would be composed as follows:—Mr. Cass, as Secretary of State; Mr. Cobb, as Secretary of the Treasury; ex-Governor Floyd, as Secretary of War; ex-Governor Brown, of Tennessee, as Secretary of the Navy; Mr. Towsey, as Attorney-General; Mr. Jones, of Pennsylvania, as Postmaster-General; Mr. Jacob Thompson, of Mississippi, as Secretary of the Interior.

In the Burdell case the jury had returned a verdict of wilful murder against Mrs. Cunningham, Eckel, and Suredgass. They were of opinion that the daughters of Mrs. Cunningham were also implicated, and recommended their safe keeping.

The Kansas correspondent of the *St. Louis Democrat* reports that a rencontre had taken place at Tecumseh between Judge Elmore and the correspondent of the *National Era*, named Kagia. Both parties were wounded, but not dangerously.

The Missouri Senate had passed a resolution declaring the emancipation of slaves in that State impracticable, impolitic, unwise, and unjust, and that it should be discountenanced by the people. The House had confirmed the resolution by a vote of 107 to 69.

Havannah advices announce that Dr. Kane, the celebrated Arctic traveller, is believed to be dying, and that no hopes of his recovery are entertained.

According to intelligence from Mexico, dated Feb. 1, the treaty signed between the United States and Mexico provides that the former shall lend Mexico fifteen million dollars, of which three millions go to pay American claims, and the United States is to have a mortgage on the customs revenue, and to receive fifteen per cent. of the duties. The Mexican Congress declared itself in permanent session on the 28th January till the final vote on the new Constitution should be had.

THE WAR WITH PERSIA.

The latest dates from the Persian Gulf extend to the 17th of December, up to which date our men were resting on their arms. The soldiers, though complaining of considerable discomfort from the extremes of cold and heat, were, on the whole, in the enjoyment of good health. The 2nd Europeans, who were suffering from severe sickness on leaving Sind, form an unhappy exception, nearly half their number being in hospital. Supplies were becoming more plentiful than at first, or than we had any reason to expect; Bussorah formed the principal source, abundance being sent into camp down the Euphrates from Turkish Arabia. The Persians were bringing in forage, grain, beet, carrots, and other vegetables. Ponies and baggage cattle of all kinds are at present being collected in the Presidency, the want of carriage forming the great difficulty of a foray into the interior.

The Persians were urging forward large reinforcements from Teheran to the southward. It is at Ferozabad that the main strength of the Persian army is posted in numbers which the latest accounts raised to 20,000 men and upwards. Shuster, it is understood, will be the point of raising and assembling the proposed corps of Irregular Horse. For this purpose it is calculated, not only from its being situated among Arab tribes, who are, as is supposed, perfectly ready to serve us, but also from its proximity to the Turkish frontier and the Bashi-Bazouks and other wild horsemen of that empire. General Outram's staff left on Monday, Jan. 17th, in the Semiramis, touching at Kurrachee on the 19th, and leaving the next morning. The gallant general is understood to proceed to Bussorah, the chief source of our supplies, and will in all likelihood establish head-quarters with a base of operations in the neighbourhood. From Bushire an advance into the interior is obstructed by a rugged and difficult range of mountains running right across our path. From Bussorah a tolerably even line of march stretches from nearly the mouth of the Euphrates by Shurtra right into the centre of Persia.

It is stated that the draft treaty of peace was signed preliminarily at Paris on Friday or Saturday. The question, says the Paris correspondent of the *Times*, is whether when, having been agreed to in London, it will be ratified at Teheran, much depending upon the amount of Russian influence there. The *Pays* says: "According to the latest news from the Persian Gulf, an armistice of three months has been concluded between the Commander-in-Chief of the English troops and the Persian Government. This armistice will begin on March 1, 1857."

The Russian flotilla in the Caspian Sea was, it is said, to land 2,500 men at Astrabad.

Advices, *via* Trieste, from Bombay to the 2nd inst., state that Mr. Murray had arrived at Bushire, and that the English were establishing their head-quarters at Bassora in Turkey.

Letters received by the Constantinople mail of the 19th ult., speak of a rumour current at Teheran, on the 5th, that the Persian troops operating to the west of Furrah had succeeded in capturing Kandahar. [Very doubtful.]

CHINA AND INDIA.

Advices have been received from Hong Kong to Jan. 15. Little change had taken place at Canton. The following summary of news is given by the *Times* correspondent:—

Our troops remain intrenched in the Garden. Her Majesty's steamer *Niger*, with the flag of Admiral Seymour, is at anchor off the ruins of the factories, and the other men-of-war are distributed in the river, commanding the most important points. Several exceedingly well-planned attempts have been made to blow up and burn our vessels, and, although they have been as yet unsuccessful in doing any material injury, the greatest vigilance is necessary. The Mandarins have collected a large number of war junks in the creeks of the river, and on the 4th inst. they attacked the Macao Fort at low water. Her Majesty's steamer *Encounter* attempted to move down from her anchorage, but grounded, and the fight was maintained by the fort, the steamer *Coromandel*, and men-of-war's boats until the rise of the tide enabled the steamer to come to their assistance, when the junks retired into shallow water beyond range. Mr. Pearn, master's assistant of Her Majesty's ship *Sybilie*, was killed during the action, and two officers and three seamen were wounded. The loss on the side of the Chinese must have been considerable, as the *Minie* rifles of our marines told severely.

On the 30th ult. the postal steamer *Thistle* while on her way from Canton, was cut off by a party of Chinese, who had been received on board as passengers from Hong Kong, but proved to be emissaries of the Chinese Government hired to perform the tragedy in which they succeeded. All on board were murdered with the exception of some Chinese passengers, and the vessel was then run ashore and burnt. There were two foreign passengers on board at the time—viz., a Spanish gentleman, Signor Dias, formerly Peruvian Consul-General, and an invalid of the 59th Regiment. Since this dreadful occurrence another river steamer has been attacked and narrowly escaped capture at the hands of a Mandarin fleet, and communication with Canton is now almost entirely suspended. There are no foreign residents there now whatever.

No trace has been obtained of Mr. Cowper, who was kidnapped at Whampoa. A coldblooded murder has

been perpetrated there, the victim being a German servant of Dr. Ryder.

The Whampoa anchorage has been abandoned.

It is not expected that any active measures will be taken against the city of Canton until the arrival of troops and gunboats places in the hands of Admiral Seymour the means of striking a decisive blow both by land and water. At present it is by no means an easy task to hold his present position, but this, we doubt not, he will do if possible, as any retrograde movement would be deemed a victory by the Chinese.

Of the Viceroy Yeh we have heard nothing lately, nor has any commissioner arrived from Peking, although the Chinese assert that a very high official is on the way.

Of the rebels in the south we have no intelligence beyond a rumour that they have come to an understanding with Yeh, and combined to "expel the barbarian!" Whether this be true or not, they do not seem to take advantage of the present state of affairs to press the Imperialists anywhere near Canton. Our present force in China is quite inadequate to carry on with success any important operations.

In Hong Kong all remains quiet as yet, and the stringent precautions which have been taken have had a beneficial effect. Some of the worst characters have been apprehended, and will be deported.

Three men have been seized who are doubtless emissaries from Canton, sent here with mischievous intent. The result of their examination has not yet transpired. The colonial Government has hired and armed a small steamer to cruise in the neighbourhood.

The Mandarins have issued in various districts the most bloodthirsty edicts against the English, and have offered large rewards to those who may succeed in assassination or incendiarism in Hong Kong.

All Chinese have been ordered to quit the service of foreigners and return to their homes, and so powerful is the Mandarin system that disobedience entails much trouble, if not positive destruction, upon the relatives of the offender. Nearly all the Chinese servants have left or are leaving, and this creates no small inconvenience, and also renders private property more insecure.

Her Majesty's ship *Calcutta* is in the harbour, and Admiral Guerin has in the most handsome manner offered the services of the crews of *La Virginie* and steamer *Catinat* whenever they may be required; indeed, there is now a French guard stationed at one of the most unprotected points. The Americans have also landed a guard at their naval stores and at another point.

A deputation of merchants waited on his Excellency Sir J. Bowring on the 5th inst., and presented a letter from those interested in property destroyed or abandoned at Canton or elsewhere, and requested his Excellency's views with reference to compensation. Sir John replied that the matter had been already brought to the attention of the Home Government.

We have just received intelligence from Canton informing us that the whole of the suburbs west of the city had been burnt by our force on the 12th inst. In this service we regret to say that a party of the 59th Regiment missed their way, and, getting under the city wall, were assailed with stones and matchlocks, losing two men killed, eleven severely wounded, and ten slightly wounded. A large fire had also taken place inside the city. Admiral Seymour has decided on blowing up the French Folly, retiring from the Gardens, and making the Bird's-nest Fort his outpost, where we hope he will be able to remain until reinforcements arrive.

An attempt was made on the morning of Jan. 15 to poison a considerable portion of the foreign community. The author of this diabolical act is a Chinese baker named Easing, who (being doubtless induced by the promises of reward held out by the mandarin) mixed with his bread a large quantity of arsenic, and after sending it round to his customers left for Macao in a steamer at eight A.M. All who partook of this bread were shortly afterwards seized with violent retchings and other symptoms, but, prompt remedies being applied, we are happy to state that up to the present time no deaths have ensued, although great numbers have been ill, and some are still in a dangerous state. The quantity of arsenic was too large to answer the intended purpose, its presence being immediately betrayed, and antidotes forthwith administered. It is fearful to contemplate what the results might otherwise have been. A steamer has been dispatched to Macao in hopes of intercepting Easing, but we fear he will have gained the mainland ere she arrives.

On the 6th of January Sir John Bowring issued an ordinance declaring the necessity of taking immediate and special means for preserving the peace of the colony, and enacting that any Chinaman found at large in Hong Kong elsewhere than in his own habitation, between the hours of eight in the evening and sunrise, and without a police pass, shall be liable to a fine, to imprisonment with hard labour, to whipping, or to the stocks. By another section of the same ordinance: "Every person lawfully acting as a sentry or patrol at any time between the hour of eight in the evening and sunrise is hereby authorised whilst so acting to fire upon, with intent or effect to kill, any Chinaman whom he shall meet with or discover abroad, and whom he shall have reasonable ground to suspect of being so abroad for an improper purpose, and who being challenged by him shall neglect or refuse to make proper answer to his challenge." His Excellency also assumes power to deport all persons considered dangerous to the peace and good order of the colony.

A proclamation issued by Haou, acting magistrate of Heang-shun, states that the English have attacked the chief city of the province, and enjoins the people therefore to have no commercial intercourse with Hong Kong, as "it is necessary to stop all communication and trade." All persons engaged in such traffic, or employed in barbarian vessels, are to return to their homes. "Goods are also forbidden to be taken to Macao, lest from that place Hong Kong should get her supplies. Therefore, all vessels that proceed to Macao, Tumchai, and Hong Kong, are ordered to stop from going. This matter has been insisted on in the districts of Tungkwan and Singan. Supplies are cut off in those districts." A furious and

infuriating address has been circulating among the Chinese both at Hong Kong and Macao. It purports to have been issued by Commissioner Yeh, and calls upon all the celestial people to unite for a war of extermination. The *Friend of China* expresses (Jan. 15) its conviction that "Yeh is not the man to put forth such a document." It states also that several attempts had been made during the first week of the new year to set Macao on fire.

The East India Company's steamer Auckland returned to Singapore from Pinang, as we learn from the *Straits Times*, on the 16th Jan., taking on for service in China about 150 tons of shot, shell, and ammunition.

From Shanghai are advices to the 7th of January. Intelligence of fair authenticity had been received from Nankin, from which we gather that the rebels had fallen out among themselves and committed many savage deeds. The leader, Hung-siu-taiuen, or Taipingwang, still, however, remained at the head of affairs, and had again defeated the Imperial troops. The authorities at Shanghai remained as cordial as ever towards foreigners. Foochow letters are to the 10th. All remained tranquil, and no disturbance was apprehended there.

The export of tea from China to Great Britain shows a decrease of nearly 13,000,000lbs. as compared with the same time last year, and the accounts from all quarters confirm previous advices regarding a short supply.

From our Indian territories the news by this arrival is of less than average interest. A new five per cent. loan was opened on the 16th of January. It is offered on the usual conditions, but is limited to three millions sterling, and is not to be paid off for sixteen years. The terms are sufficiently favourable, but it is doubted whether the loan will fill even at this rate. The *Friend of India* shows that the Indian Government, after affecting a conversion in 1854, has in 1857 outrun its income by six millions sterling. The *Bombay Times* states on good authority that Colonel Sir Henry M. Lawrence has been appointed Chief Commissioner in Oude. Dost Mohammed was still at Peshawur.

FOREIGN MISCELLANY.

In Paris they have been keeping the festivities of the season with the usual display of fat bees.

The King of Naples, from his retreat at Caserta, continues to indulge in the system of government by terror that drew down on him the reprobation of England and France. He is said, however, to be seeking by unofficial agency at Paris to recover their good-will.

The Grand-Duke Constantine has arrived at Paris.

An Imperial decree, instituting Archduke Maximilian of Austria to the post of Governor of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, has been published at Milan.

Letters from Athens to the 21st announce that a Greek student was found concealed with arms on his person in King Otho's cabinet and arrested. He was declared to be insane.

Advices from Melbourne announce the arrival of the John Williams, missionary ship, at Hobart Town on the 9th November. The passengers were all well, but the vessel had encountered heavy weather on her voyage between the Cape and Australia, by which she had sustained some damage, and her bowsprit had been carried away.

The photographic likeness of Milano is now being sold in Naples pretty extensively. Such a fact requires no comment.

The King of Dahomey has just sent two of his sons to be educated in France. They have arrived at Marseilles, and have already adopted the costume of the college of that city, in which they appear perfectly at their ease. They have an intelligent air, and do not show the slightest symptoms of embarrassment.

The steamer Madrid, conveying the outward Peninsular mails of the 17th, struck on a rock at the entrance of the port of Vigo on the 20th instant. All on board were saved.

Sir Moreton Peto has gone to Paris on an invitation from the Emperor of the French, to proceed to Algeria, with a view to the construction of a railway in that colony.

Lord Brougham had an interview with the Emperor of the French at the Tuilleries on his way to Cannes.

A letter from Vienna says: "A new and very important reduction in the Austrian army is about to take place. It is said that it will be of 499 companies for the whole army, or nearly 50,000 men; and that there will also be reductions in the rifles, engineers, and cavalry."

M. Livols, chief of the French missions in China, has arrived in Paris, in order to give the Emperor full information with respect to the position of the Catholics in the Celestial Empire.

The same trouble that is bestowed in our National Schools in teaching children their catechisms and collects is bestowed at Berlin on impressing the "young idea" with a conviction of the faultlessness and supreme excellence of the Prussian military system and of Prussia's financial administration: in consequence, every good Prussian believes in these latter fictions far more devoutly than he does in his Bible; the authenticity of which latter may be treated or not as an "open question," without any injury to his standing as a citizen and subject.—*Berlin Correspondent of the Times.*

The commission appointed to carry out the new delineation of Bessarabia has completed its labours, and the Moldavians have been put in possession of the town of Bolgrad. Austria has modified its passport system.

THE BALLOT MOVEMENT.

A meeting, attended by about 2,000 persons, at which Mr. George Wilson presided, was held in the Free-trade Hall, Manchester, on Wednesday evening. The chairman said he had watched the friends of the Ballot Society attentively during the last three years, and his conclusion was that they were men sure to win. They had drawn the sword, and now he told them to throw away the scabbard. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. NICHOLSON, formerly mayor of Melbourne, gave an account of the history and practical working of the ballot in Victoria, quoting from a number of Australian papers to prove the triumphant success and universal popularity of the system of secret voting, and concluded amidst loud applause.

Mr. E. C. WHITEHURST denounced the malpractices perpetrated at the recent Newport election, declaring that the Tory party had caused money to flow like water, in order to demoralise the electors. In Southampton the screw had also been pretty well turned, and in West Kent many of the farmers, it was known, had voted against their consciences. He called upon the people to look after their representatives on this question.

The Hon. F. BERKELEY, M.P., made a long address in favour of the ballot, commenting particularly upon the statements of the *Times* in regard to the working of the ballot in America. The *Times*, he said, treated the matter of the ballot in a manner which he thought utterly unworthy of the great talent of that great paper. That paper said, "Oh! but look at America; the ballot-box is not successful there, for there the ballot-box has been attacked." Now, of all the impudent assertions he could imagine, that was the most impudent assertion to urge against the success of the ballot. Why, if the necessity of the ballot were not felt, it would not be attacked; but, he was sorry to say, its necessity was beginning to be felt more and more in America, consequently the ballot-box had its enemies, and was assailed with open force.

A resolution, moved by Mr. A. Prentice, pledging the meeting to support the objects of the Ballot Society, was agreed to. The chairman expressed his opinion that if the working-classes would support the ballot, it might become law before the next general election.

On Friday evening, a numerous meeting of liberal electors of the Tower Hamlets was held at the Elephant Inn, Kingsland, for the purpose of taking into consideration the formation of a local committee in connection with the Ballot Society. Resolutions were unanimously passed forming the committee.

THE VICTORIA CROSS.

A supplement to the *Gazette* of Tuesday contained a list of the names and a description of the services of the soldiers, sailors, and officers to whom Her Majesty has awarded the Victoria Cross, or Order of Valour, "on account of acts of bravery performed by them before the enemy during the late war." This gratifying list includes eighty-five names; that is, of thirty-one officers, twenty-four noncommissioned and warrant officers, and thirty privates and seamen. The Navy takes twenty-four crosses, the Marines take three, the Cavalry four, the Artillery three, the Engineers five, the Guards nine, the Infantry of the Line twenty-nine, and the rifles eight. In every case, what may be called an accompanying biographical notice records an act of great daring. Many took up and threw away live shells with the fusee burning; many rescued wounded comrades under a heavy fire; some were conspicuous for devotion to their leaders; some for gallantly fighting alone against numbers; others engaged and succeeded in the most desperate actions where success was the highest service; and all, officers and privates, are so blended in these actions, that in point of valour the officer and the private stand on the same level. We give one or two instances. Commander Cecil William Buckley, and Commander John Talbot Burgoyne, then lieutenants, assisted by John Roberts, gunner, volunteered to land and burn Russian stores at Genitchi; and landing in the presence of 3,000 Russian troops, did what they went to do. Joseph Trewavas, seaman, "cut the hawsers of the floating bridge in the Straits of Genitchi, under a heavy fire of musketry, on which occasion he was wounded." Commander Commerel, and William Rickard, quartermaster, crossed the Isthmus of Arabat and the Sivash, and destroyed forage and stores in the Crimea; Rickard, in the retreat, gallantly carrying on his back a third man who fell in the mud. Captain William Peel took up a live shell that fell among some powder-cases, on the 18th October, 1854. The fusee was still burning, and the shell burst as he threw it over the parapet. He also fought with the Guards at the Sandbag Battery in the Inkermann fight. John Shepherd, boatswain, tried twice to enter the harbour of Sebastopol in a punt and sink an exploding apparatus among the Russian war-ships. Private Matthew Hughes, of the 7th Regiment, went twice to the Quarries with ammunition under a heavy fire. Corporal Philip Smith, of the 17th, repeatedly went out and rescued wounded comrades on the 18th June. Brevet-Major Frederick C. Elton, of the 55th Regiment, on the 4th August, 1855, when there was some hesitation shown, in consequence of the severity of the fire, went into the open, and working with pick and shovel, thus showed the best possible example to the men. In the words of one of them, "There was not another officer in the British army who would have done what Major Elton did that night."

The Victoria Cross consists of a Maltese cross formed from the cannon captured from the Russians.

In the centre of the cross is the Royal crown, surmounted by the lion, and below it a scroll bearing the words, "For valour." The riband is blue for the navy and red for the army. On the clasp are two branches of laurel, and from it, suspended by a Roman V., hangs the proudest honour an Englishman can wear. The decoration carries with it a pension of 10*l.* a year.

Court, Personal, and Official News.

On Thursday, Prince Albert held the first levee of the season, on behalf of Her Majesty, at St. James's Palace. It was well attended. On Friday evening, the Queen and Prince, with the Prince of Wales, the Princess Royal, and the Princess Alice, visited the Adelphi theatre. On Saturday afternoon, the Queen, accompanied by the Prince of Wales and Prince Arthur, took a drive in an open landau and four. The Prince attended Mr. Faraday's lecture at the Royal Institution, on Friday evening. The Earl of Harrowby, the Marquis and Marchioness of Breadalbane, the Earl and Countess of Clanwilliam, Lord and Lady Burleigh, the Bishop of London, Lord Broughton, Mr. and Mrs. Vernon Smith, and Mr. Frederick Peel, dined with the Queen. The Lord Chancellor had an audience on Monday. The Duke of Cambridge visited the Queen. Earl Granville and Lord Panmure had the honour of dining with Her Majesty in the evening.

Mr. Serjeant Wilkins is seriously indisposed, and with little hope of an early recovery.

In consequence of the adverse decision of the Admiralty in the House of Commons on Tuesday, Lady Franklin is under the necessity of undertaking, on her own resources, the completion of the search for her husband's expedition. The late period at which the decision is made known, renders it impossible to make the requisite preparations for proceeding by the east. The western route by Behring's Straits will, therefore, be adopted.

A Liberal Club is about to be formed, with the view to check the wholesale jobbery of the Reform and Brookes's Clubs, to give to independent Liberals the organisation necessary to compete with the doings, of the Coppocks and Hayters, and to endeavour to establish in the House a band of independent Liberals, determined to stem the tide of corruption within the walls of Parliament.—*Atlas.*

The corporation has passed its annual petition to Parliament for seating Baron Rothschild. Lord Palmerston will do nothing to embarrass his very good friends the Lords. It is in contemplation (says the *Weekly Dispatch*) to introduce a Bill into the Commons to repeal the Parliamentary Oaths Bill, and to restore to each branch of the Legislature its ancient prerogative of exclusive jurisdiction in the matter of its own qualifications and membership. Unquestionably the Legislature ought never to have parted with that privilege. A precedent for recurring to the ancient policy was established by the Lords when they refused to admit Lord Wensleydale.

On Saturday Lord and Lady Palmerston had an assembly at Cambridge House, previously to which they entertained at dinner the Marquis Townshend, the Earl and Countess of Beesborough, the Earl Granville, the Earl and Countess of Shaftesbury, Viscount Castlerosse, M.P., Lady William Russell, Sir Charles and Lady Mary Wood, Lady Theresa Lewis and Miss Lister, Mr. and Lady Mary Labouchere, and Mr. Ralph William Grey, M.P.

A project is announced, supported by very influential names, under the title of the East Indian Submarine Telegraph, *via* the Red Sea, for establishing a telegraph to India in continuation of the system of telegraphs decided upon by the English Government for the Mediterranean, and which is to terminate at Alexandria. The proposal is to lay a number of wires across Egypt and down the Red Sea to Aden, whence they will run parallel to the south coast of Arabia, and terminate at Kurrachee, to which the Indian telegraphs extend.

A parliamentary paper states, that in reply to the East India Company, Sir C. Trevelyan, on behalf of the Treasury, in a letter, dated Dec. 2, said that the Government have determined to propose to Parliament to provide for one half of the extraordinary expenses of the expedition: by which term is to be understood that portion of the expense which is over and above the ordinary pay and allowances of the troops, and the ordinary charge of the ship of the East India Company employed. The Court of Directors express their satisfaction with this decision.

Mr. Humphrey Brown, M.P., was last week presented by his friends at Tewkesbury with a handsome silver centre-piece, engraved with the appropriate motto, "Perseverantia omnia vincit." Mr. Brown, in responding, generally denied the statements against him with regard to the British Bank, and a certain sum of 70,000*l.*, but regretted that circumstances should prevent his giving a detailed statement which would entirely clear his character. In conclusion, he begged to say that however much they maligned his character and held him up to opprobrium, the time would come when he would return to Tewkesbury, and they would find he was much ill-used. He had passed sleepless nights and wretched days, but the day was near when his innocence would be established and his enemies' treachery made apparent.

The meeting of the Eastern Counties Company, on Friday, was a complete contrast to those held during the last year or two—harmonious and congratulatory: receipts have increased, expenditure is reduced, and the new system of management promises to greatly improve the position of the railway. It was stated that the 5*s.* dividend had been really earned during the past six months.

Miscellaneous News.

Mr. E. C. Bowring, the son of our representative at Hong Kong, has written a defence of his father's conduct in answer to the accusations made in Parliament.

The Yorkshire papers state that, notwithstanding the recent capture of a whole gang of burglars in that county, a series of nocturnal robberies were again committed in the North Riding last week.

A movement has begun for the suppression of a great public nuisance—Greenwich Fair. Unnecessary interference with popular amusements should be denounced; but Greenwich fair has become an annual rendezvous for the very worst classes of the population.

The Middle Templars have determined to erect a library and lecture hall on the site of the Middle Temple fountain. The Benchers have chosen Mr. H. R. Abraham as their architect, and the new buildings will be "in the Gothic style of the fifteenth century."

On Sunday morning, whilst the Rev. Canon Parkinson was preaching in the Cathedral Church, at Manchester, a sudden attack of illness obliged him to close his discourse rather abruptly. He was afterwards removed to the house of the Very Rev. the Dean of Manchester, where medical assistance was procured. The attack was pronounced to be one of a paralytic character, but the reverend gentleman somewhat improved subsequently, and there is reason to hope that he will recover.

On Wednesday, a private meeting of the friends of Dr. Livingston took place in Manchester, and a subscription was at once commenced for the purpose of insuring a testimonial of respect to the enterprising missionary and traveller. A joint request to Dr. Livingston by the Manchester Chamber of Commerce and the Mercantile Association, that he will permit the members to announce his presence at a public meeting in our city, is exciting considerable interest among large and influential classes.

The prospectus of the London Unadulterated Food Company (limited) is issued, with a proposed capital of 100,000*l.* (subject to increase), in 20*l.* shares, on which the deposit is fixed at 5*l.* per share. The object of this company is stated to be "the importation, manufacture, and supply of food, drinks, and drugs, in a pure state." It is mentioned that each article vended will be manufactured or prepared entirely by the company, that each packet will have the company's label affixed, and that foreign productions will be imported direct.

On Thursday afternoon, another meeting of the unemployed was held on the site of the Smithfield market, for the purpose of giving some information relative to the system of poor-law relief, and also with regard to free emigration to the colonies. About 2,500 persons were present. The meeting was divided and uproarious in consequence of a rupture among the Executive Committee. It would seem that this arose from certain allegations that had been made by Mr. Brien, the chairman, against Mr. M'Heath, the secretary to the National Association of the Unemployed of Great Britain, with regard to the finances of the association.

The first annual meeting of the Middlesex Society for the Reformation and Employment of Discharged Criminals was held on Friday, in the Sessions-House, Clerkenwell; the Marquis of Salisbury in the chair. It appeared from the report, that in the course of the year twenty-six cases were received from the Coldbath-fields Prison into the London Reformatory, twenty into the North-Western, and twelve into the Metropolitan; in addition to which, eleven seamen were admitted into the Destitute Sailors' Home, and five general cases were provided for in other institutions. The report claims for the society the credit of success, and asks further aid in order that its operations may be extended. A resolution was carried, pledging the subscribers to continue and extend their exertions in favour of the reformatory system, especially as applicable to juvenile criminals.

In consequence of public attention having been directed to the unsatisfactory condition of the casual ward of the West London Union, situate at Battlebridge, by the recent evening visit of the Lord Mayor, Mr. Farnell, the Inspector for the Poor-law Board, carefully examined the ward in question, and on Tuesday last he reported the result at a meeting of the board of guardians of the union, which mainly confirmed the previous statements, with the important exception that the sexes were kept separate, and not huddled. It was at once unanimously determined to hold a special meeting of the guardians to proceed to view the building complained of, and to ascertain what alterations in its structure and management were desirable, in order to remove the public stigma at present resting upon their body. The meeting of the board accordingly took place on Thursday; and after a very careful and lengthened investigation a variety of useful proposals, principally in accordance with Mr. Farnell's report, which had been previously made, were ordered to be at once carried out. As the guardians of this union are strong advocates for the establishment of public baths and washhouses, they very appropriately considered the propriety of administering a warm bath to each applicant for casual in-door relief as an important aid to the promotion of vagrant cleanliness.

What is supposed to be the most perfect specimen yet discovered of the plesiosaurus has been excavated from the blue lias quarries of Mr. Crees, at Street, in Somersetshire. It is seven feet nine inches in length. The beautiful swanlike neck is turned gracefully backward, and the tail is bent upwards in a curve.

Law, Police, and Assize.

AN M.P. FINED FOR ASSAULT.—Mr. Edward Holmes Baldock, the member for Shrewsbury, has been summoned before the Westminster magistrate for an assault. An attempt was made to get up a very aggravated case; but it turned out that Mr. Baldock had endured great provocation, and had not struck a very serious blow. Mr. Baldock was talking with Lord Portman in Halkin-street; he had a dog with him; Mr. Sparkes Hall, a bootmaker in Regent-street, drove past in a dog-cart; he thought that Mr. Baldock's dog was one he had himself lost. Mr. Hall and his servant, William Hulman, alighted, and proceeded to examine the dog, intimating that it belonged to Mr. Hall. Mr. Baldock said it had been in his possession for five years. Mr. Hall, though he called "Carlo!" to the dog in vain, was still dissatisfied; and Hulman took hold of the dog. Mr. Baldock—"not knowing whether they were not going to steal" the dog—then struck Hulman with a small stick: that was the assault. There was no real ground for Mr. Hall claiming the dog: he had evidently made a mistake. Mr. Paynter, considering the provoking circumstances under which the assault was committed, fined Mr. Baldock only two shillings.

WIDOW ALLSOP.—Mr. Broughton, the Marylebone magistrate, had another questioning of "Widow Allsop," on Wednesday. Her statements were as evasive and unsatisfactory as before. Mr. Broughton said he had been informed that she was not suffering from a tumour, as she had represented; and one account he had received stated that she was not a woman at all, but a man in disguise!

STEALING "HIDE-PIECES."—The Southwark magistrate has committed four men for stealing upwards of eight hundredweight of "hide-pieces" from Mr. Waring, a hide-merchant; and he has held to bail Messrs. Proctor and Bevington, wealthy hide-merchants and glue-manufacturers in Bermondsey, for feloniously receiving the same. The hide-pieces were purchased by Messrs. Proctor and Bevington's foreman: it is alleged on one side, that the price given was below the value; on the other, that it was the usual price, and that there was no cause to suspect that the material had been stolen.

THE WALWORTH MURDERS.—At the Lambeth Police-court, on Wednesday, some additional evidence in the case of the Walworth murders, tending further to convict the husband Bacon, was brought forward, and the inquiry, as far as the magistrate is concerned, was virtually closed, but an adjournment took place, so that the prisoners might not be committed for trial at the next sessions at the Old Bailey. They will commence at such an early date that neither the prosecution nor the defence could be prepared in the interval.

THREATENING LORD JOHN RUSSELL.—Mr. Selfe, the Thames Police magistrate, ordered a warrant to be issued on Thursday for the arrest of one Thomas Bell, calling himself a "citizen and clockmaker," for writing threatening letters to Lord John Russell. Evidence was given to show that Bell is a "dangerous lunatic."

CAN A MORMON LEGALLY TAKE AN OATH?—This important question was decided in the affirmative at the petty sessions held last week before a full bench of justices, at Harewood's End, Herefordshire. Elizabeth Verry, a witness in a case before the court, was about to be sworn, when the solicitor on the opposing side objected to her testimony being taken, as she was an avowed supporter and follower of the Mormon faith. The witness admitted the fact; but declared that the New Testament was equally binding on her conscience with the Book of Mormon; and she was, consequently, allowed to give evidence on receiving the usual oath.

TRIAL FOR MURDER.—At Swansea, on Friday, John Lewis, aged thirty-nine, a skinner, was arraigned upon an indictment charging him with having unlawfully, and with malice aforethought, murdered his wife, Gwenllian Lewis, at Merthyr, on the 4th day of January last. The evidence was not very conclusive; the jury could not agree, and were locked up on Friday night. On Saturday morning the jury were called into the court on the arrival of the judge, and as they were unable to agree, they were discharged. The prisoner will be tried again at the Summer Assizes, all the witnesses being bound over to appear then.

THE CYMMER COLLIERY EXPLOSION.—Jabez Thomas, Rowland Rowlands, and Morgan Rowlands were tried at Swansea, on Monday, charged with the wilful murder of William Thomas, Samuel Edmonds, and another, on the 15th July last. It will be recollected that an explosion took place at the above colliery on the day in question, by which 114 persons were unfortunately killed. The prisoner Jabez Thomas was manager of the pit, and the other prisoners were employed in the superintendence of it, and the question appeared to be whether the lamentable accident had arisen in consequence of the neglect of proper precautions by the prisoners. The jury returned a verdict of "Acquittal."

ANOTHER HOLT RABBIT CASE.—At the Holt Petty Sessions, on Saturday last, John Hagon was charged with again trespassing on "the Lows." The magistrates present were Lord Hastings and his brother (Colonel Astley), and W. H. Pemberton, Esq. Mr. J. H. Tillett, of Norwich, defended Hagon. The only witness called by the plaintiff was Mr. Barker's keeper, who stated that he saw Hagon take a rabbit out of a hole on "the Lows." Mr. Tillett then made an able speech in defence of his client, contending that as Hagon was possessed of a "common right," and had therefore a right to be on the Lows, it was impossible for him to be guilty of a trespass—that the

common-right men, and not the trustees, were the real owners of the property—that it was intended that the poor should have everything arising from the Lows—and that the trustees had no right to let the shooting to a friend to the injury of the poor—and that the poor had exercised the right of killing rabbits for nearly half a century, unmolested. George Barker, Esq., said he hired the shooting last May, and produced his agreement; but it appeared from this that only four out of the five trustees had signed it, and that the other trustee declined to sign it. Several old men were called, who stated that for nearly fifty years up to the present time they had been accustomed to catch rabbits undisturbed. The court was then cleared, and after a few minutes' consultation the magistrates committed Hagon to prison for two months' hard labour (or a fine of 2*l.* and costs.) We believe Hagon went to prison.

Literature.

Myths traced to their Primary Source through Language. By MORGAN KAVANAGH. Two Vols. London: Newby.

THESE volumes display a great deal of originality and ingenuity, but whether they display real knowledge and sound judgment is quite another affair. We think Mr. Kavanagh has not the basis of learning which his subject demands:—at any rate, he is as arbitrary and suppositious in his treatment of it, as if he had not that learning. His conclusions are as unphilosophical as they are anti-scriptural:—the latter, the author evidently prides himself in; the former, his self-sufficiency will hardly be wounded at our asserting. Mr. Kavanagh is enough to himself, against all the philologists, philosophers, historians, theologians, and critics in the world. We say this on the supposition that the book is a serious one. We have sometimes been almost compelled to believe it a great cumbrous joke; intended to satirise a certain order of scholars who have of late years made the study of the early traditions and primeval history of mankind a glorious confusion, ever getting worse confounded. If it be a mere case of "poking fun" at the learned, it's awfully heavy and weary jesting. We will let the reader judge:—

"For the reason that B and M are the same sign in different positions, and that the former is from its being composed of an I and an S, reducible to S; it follows that so is M. For this reason the name Mary cannot, since it is the same as Moly—witness Molly—differ from Saly or Sally; from which it would appear that this name is but a variation of Mary. And what confirms this etymology is, that when we make the I of Saly resume its form r, we obtain sary, that is Sarah, of which Sally is the familiar, just as Molly is of Mary. We would further observe, that as Molly is reducible to Mol, so is Sally to Sal. But this is not all. As Mary is radically the same as Mare, the sea; so is Sally radically the same as Salum, which is another Latin word for the sea. And this goes to prove that in the *Mar of Mare*, and in the *Sal of Salum*, we have not two different roots, but one and the same root under two different forms. We thus discover the origin of salum. . . . and as all true discoveries lead to others, this too, we now perceive, leads to something else. *Sal*, root of salum, means salt; and as salum means the sea, it follows that such too must be the meaning of salt. Hence it is that *sea water* and *salt water* are synonymous expressions. . . . But if *sal* means salt, Sally ought, it would seem, to mean salty, or saline; and for the same reason, Mary ought to be equal to such a form as marine, and this ought to correspond in meaning with saline. And this really happens. Thus, when we only drop the *a* in Marine, we get *Mrine*; that is, when the *M* receives its position as *B*, *Brine*, and this is *salt water*. Hence in Saline and Brine we have the same word. Mary cannot, for this reason, differ from mariner, nor Sally from sailor."

And so everything is nothing, and nothing is everything; and we are all in a jolly fog, and most confoundedly confounded. If the book is serious, it is a disguised, but stupid and powerless assault on religion.

The Poetical Works of William Shakespeare, and the Earl of Surrey.—*The Poetical Works of Sir Walter Scott.* Vol. I.—With Memoirs, &c., by the Rev. G. GILFILLAN. Edinburgh: J. Nichol.

THESE are Mr. Nichol's last issues of his Library Poets. They have every material beauty of their predecessors in the series; and, so far as we have examined, the text is given with accuracy. The notes to Shakespeare and Surrey are generally what is wanted by the reader,—no more, but seldom less. The notes to Scott are, of course, his own, in a complete form. The poems of Sir Walter contained in this first volume are *The Lay* and *The Lady of the Lake*. Mr. Gilfillan has written better than usual in his memoirs, we think; but not with entire accuracy, or what seems to us good taste. The life of Scott is brought down only to 1814: it is written in a spirit of admiration which may be understood from the first sentence—"Walter Scott, the possessor of a name and fame only inferior to those of Homer and Shakespeare, was born," &c. This edition of Scott cannot, we suppose, include *all* his works. So far as it goes, it will be the only octavo library edition of some years past.

We see the publishers issue favourable testimonials to the series from Lord John Russell, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, Mr. Landor, Lord Brougham, Mr. Monckton Milnes, and many others. We really think it due to Mr. Gilfillan—although not ourselves of quite the same opinion—to give the judgment of two eminent critics, on his biographies of the poets. Mr. Maason, Professor of Literature in University College,—whose own delightful biography of a poet, Chatterton, is quite a model in its way—says: "I can also testify to the pleasure I have

received from such of the introductory Memoirs and Criticisms as I have read. The earnestness and pictorial vigour with which these are written, make them refreshing innovations in this kind of literature; while at the same time, their appreciations of the characteristic peculiarities of our different poets seem none the less exact and just for being so emphatically stated." And Sir James Stephen says: "What I have read, seems to me to be written in a genial spirit, and as men write on subjects which they love much, and understand well."

David, King of Israel; the Divine Plan and Lessons of his Life. By the Rev. WILLIAM GARDEN BLAKIE, A.M. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co. Edinburgh: T. Constable and Co.

THIS volume aims to combine exegetical commentary with practical exposition. Such a task must ever be difficult, and we think some exception may be taken to the principle. Mr. Blakie has succeeded better than many in realising this idea. Without indorsing the unqualified praise bestowed on "David, King of Israel," by some of our northern contemporaries, we have no hesitation in recommending this volume as suitable for family and Sunday-school purposes. The author has suffered himself to be led astray by the idea that he was bound to be David's advocate or apologist, and therefore often writes as if he held a brief for the Hebrew King. With this general exception, made with regret, we cordially direct attention to this volume, as everywhere bearing evidence of thorough piety and much scholarship.

Mark Noble; or, the Button Necklace. A Home Mission Story. By the Author of "Fernfoot," &c., &c. Edinburgh: W. P. Kennedy. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co.

A VERY sweet story, and very sweetly told. We are not going to spoil its charm by telling any portion of it. If any of our readers have ever done home mission work, and felt the work to be its own recompense, they will find here a nice companion for an evening hour, when they come home wearied in but not of their self-denying labour. About our streets there are many such as "Rose" and "Mark," victims of pure misfortune who are asking, and will abundantly reward, the unostentatious labours of those who in all our large cities and towns "do good by stealth and blush to find it fame." To such, and to general readers as well, we cordially recommend the story of the "Button Necklace."

The Draper in Australia: being a Narrative of Three Years' Adventures and Experience at the Gold-fields, in the Bush, and in the Chief Cities of Victoria and New South Wales. Dedicated to the Drapers of England. London: W. Freeman, 69, Fleet-street.

WE gather from this book some unpleasant notices. That the "draper" is a vain, although disappointed man, who thinks he can write poetry; that he has come back a wiser, sadder, and, we fear, a poorer man than he went out; that "drapers" are not the kind of stuff the colony is asking for just now, or ever wanted at all, to develop its resources; and that it requires no small amount of self-reliance and endurance of great perils to get on at the diggings, unless one is blessed with large muscles and small morals. To young men amongst the class to whom the book is dedicated it may be found useful as a corrective of sudden and strong determinations to "try their luck" at the antipodes; they had better stay behind the counter, so says the writer of these three years' adventure and experience; and before spending their money on outfitting arrangements, they had better purchase and read this useful emigrant draper's guide.

Joseph the Jew; a Tale founded on facts. By the Author of "Mary Mathieson." Edinburgh: W. Oliphant and Sons. 1857.

WE have read this tale with sincere pleasure. Its plot is laid in 1770, when the Jews were so fearfully oppressed on the Continent. The incidents are few and natural, but they are skilfully wrought together, and the result is a very readable and delightful little volume. Regarding the work from the author's point of view, it is worthy not only of admiration, but of earnest consideration by those who take an interest in the "conversion" of the Jews to Christianity. "Real sympathy and forbearance," says the writer, "would, I am convinced, go further towards elevating their moral character, and inclining them to Christianity, than all the teaching and preaching which have hitherto been substituted in their place. Could I hope that my little story would lead any to the exercise of that sympathy and forbearance, I should feel that my labour had not been altogether in vain." To those who read this delightful story—and we hope they will be many—we are sure that this will not be a disappointed expectation.

The Three Crosses of Calvary. By Rev. MORGAN LLOYD. London: John Snow, Paternoster-row.

THE idea of this small volume may be gathered from a sentence near its close. "The three crosses were representative. The spotless humanity of Christ presented manhood in its primeval perfection. This nature of man corrupted by sin, and subject to consequent woe and death, found its representative in the dying malefactor. Man redeemed by the atoning sacrifice was exemplified in the praying and accepted penitent. And there, too, was seen an exemplification of man despising the rich provision of mercy, and passing to the grave with the accumulated guilt and condemnation of unbelief." A vein of thoughtful and earnest piety pervades the volume. We were glad to meet with the following remarks on pp. 87-8, and we quote them not only with

approbation, but as a fair average of the style. "That Christ died for our sins, the sacred Scriptures emphatically teach. But when we attempt to learn all the reasons which led to his death, the exact relation which it bore to our redemption, and the precise mode by which all who believe in him are saved through his sufferings, we find our utter incapacity for the task. The whole is exhibited to us as a mystery, the full understanding of which we cannot grasp. Comparisons and analogies derived from the various relations and circumstances of men, commercial, judicial, or paternal, although they may shed some light on some features of the mediatorial process of the sacrifice of Christ, are inadequate to convey a complete representation of the plan of salvation. After all our researches and imaginings, we are forced to leave the subject among the secret things which belong unto God, and which are too vast for the human intellect to comprehend." We make this extract with pleasure, because it is the only view of redemption that can possibly obtain with reverent and earnest thinkers.

Gleanings.

Mr. G. F. Angas, of Adelaide, South Australia, is establishing a scholarship at Stepney College.

A very large number of persons employed in the trigonometrical survey of the United Kingdom are about to be discharged.

Dr. D. Wilson writes to the *Times* to say that camphor is an antidote to strychnine, and gives two cases in which it has been successfully administered.

A railway has been projected from Jaffa to Jerusalem, under the auspices of Sir Moses Montefiore, Sir Culling Eardley, and others, but the scheme is deferred for want of means for the present.

Mrs. Gaskell's "Life of Charlotte Brontë" is now nearly ready, and report speaks highly of its great interest and admirable execution. The admirers of Miss Brontë will also be glad to learn that a posthumous novel of hers will soon be published by Messrs. Smith, Elder, and Co.

A maiden lady, advanced in years, died the other day in Walworth, who though in easy circumstances was clothed in rags, held together with pins. It is stated that there were not less than 2,000 or 3,000 pins employed for this purpose, though she had plenty of clothes of a costly character in her house. She was addicted to the bottle.

One Rev. Robert Bremner, of Glasgow, has been holding forth in the Free Gorbals Church, Tradeson, against the Saturday evening concerts, given to the working classes. The apostles, he said, did not give concerts, and he wanted to know if they were less considerate or less philanthropic than the promoters of our modern recreation.

A strange book entitled "The Shakspeare Problem Solved," is just passing through the press. The author, a Miss Bacon, from America, believes that Lord Bacon and Sir Walter Raleigh were the real writers of Shakspeare's plays, and that Shakspeare was only stage-manager and actor. Nathaniel Hawthorne has promised to present the fair author to the public in a preface, but he by no means vouches for all her assertions.

A monument to the memory of Samuel Rogers has just been placed, by his nephews, in the chancel of the parish church of Hornsey. It is the work of the sculptor Behnes, and consists of a medallion, which is an admirable likeness of the poet, with the following simple inscription beneath:—

"In memory of
SAMUEL ROGERS,
Author of 'The Pleasures of Memory.'
Born at Newington-green, xxx. July, MDCCCLXIII.
Died at St. James's-place, Westminster, xviii. Dec., MDCCCLV.
His mortal remains are buried in this churchyard."

In the County Circuit Court, yesterday, a coloured man was on trial for larceny, and a small white boy was called as a witness for the prosecution. The traverser's counsel asked him: "Boy, do you know the nature of an oath?" Witness replied: "Yes, sir! to swear agin the nigger."—Traverser's counsel: That will do. Swear him. That is the best definition of a State witness's opinion of the nature of an oath I ever heard. A roar of laughter followed from the bar and spectators, and the case proceeded.—*St. Louis Republican*, (January 14).

The *Paris Presse* says: "It is truly lamentable to see the excitement produced by the indiscretion of a journal which announced as the prediction of a German astronomer the destruction of the world by a comet on the 13th June next. This ridiculous news, repeated by echoes great and small, has spread over Europe with amazing rapidity. It is now the universal topic of conversation in every class of society. What is there, not to speak of truth, but of probability, in the prediction relative to the comet said to be expected on the 13th June? Nothing—absolutely nothing." Our contemporary then enters into an astronomical argument, showing the absurdity of the popular impressions on this point.

Covent-garden Theatre is to be rebuilt. The Duke of Bedford has leased to Mr. Gye, of the Royal Italian Opera, for ninety years, not only the ground upon which Covent-garden Theatre stood, but also that which is covered by the Piazza Hotel, together with other tenements in the rear, extending into Hart-street. The area of the theatre will be considerably larger than previously, comprising an enclosure of 240 feet by 100. The building will be fire-proof. It is intended to devote the remaining portion to a flower-market, in the shape of a vast glass bazaar, 80 feet in diameter and 250 feet in

length, for the exhibition and sale of flowers, plants, and all the objects and conveniences that incidentally relate to them.

It is calculated that more than 300 telescopes are every night directed towards the firmament to discover the famous comet of Charles V.

The second and third part of the Memoirs of Sir R. Peel have just been published by his trustees, Earl Stanhope and Mr. Cardwell, M.P. In the last-named volume, Sir R. Peel explains why he withheld from his supporters the knowledge of his intention to propose the repeal of the Corn-laws prior to its announcement in Parliament. He says in memorable language—

I should have had on the part of the most moderate a formal protest against the course I intended to pursue; to the most violent I should have given facilities for organised opposition; I should have appeared to be flying in the face of a whole party, and contumaciously disregarding their opinion and advice after I had professed to consult them; but (what is of infinitely more importance) I should have failed in carrying the repeal of the Corn-laws.

Now I was resolved not to fail. I did not fail; and if I had to fight the battle over again, I would fight it in the same way.

BIRTHS.

Feb. 27, at Eagle Lodge, Old Brompton, Mrs. TOM TAYLOR, of a daughter, stillborn.

Feb. 28, at Stoke Newington, Mrs. ERENEZER VINET, of a daughter.

Feb. 28, at Berrington Hall, Herefordshire, the Lady RODNEY, of a son and heir.

March 2, in Conduit-street, the Countess of MACCLESFIELD, of a son.

MARRIAGES.

Jan. 30, at Bombay, Major-General WOODBURN, C.B., to ELIZA, eldest daughter of ARCHIBALD YOUNG HOWISON, Esq., of Hyndford, Lanarkshire.

Feb. 21, at the Independent Chapel, Allerton, near Bradford, by the Rev. T. Hutton, WILLIAM, son of W. FAIRBANK, to HARRIET, daughter of Mr. J. ROBERTSHAW, all of Allerton.

Feb. 23, at St. George's, Hanover-square, by the Ven. the Archdeacon Clive, PETER ADLEY LOVELL, Esq., of Cole-park, Wilts, to MARY JANE, youngest daughter of DAVID POOR, Esq., M.P., of Llanerchydol, Montgomeryshire.

Feb. 23, at Paris, in the private chapel of the Comtesse Swetchine, the Right Hon. WM. MONSELL, M.P., to BERTHE, youngest daughter of the Comte de MONTIGNY BOUTAINVILLE.

Feb. 24, at the Marylebone Presbyterian Church, George-street, by the Rev. W. Chalmers, H. SCOTT, Esq., of Bombay, son of J. SCOTT, Esq., of Hyde-park-street, to MARGARET SCOTT, daughter of J. LANG, Esq., of Cunningham-place, St. John's-wood.

Feb. 24, at St. Leonard's-on-Sea, JOHN CROKER PENNELL, Esq., to HARRIET, only surviving daughter of the late Sir WILLIAM FOLLETT.

DEATHS.

Feb. 1, at Port Stanley, Western Canada, Mr. ALEXANDER HODGE, formerly of Crail, Fifeshire.

Feb. 22, at the Vicarage, Chatteris, Cambridgeshire, FRANCES DOROTHEA, wife of the Rev. M. A. GATHERCOLE, Vicar of Chatteris.

Feb. 24, at Belfast, the Rev. T. D. HINCKES, LL.D., M.R.I.A., aged ninety.

Feb. 25, very suddenly, at his own residence, the Rev. EDWARD DAVIES, M.A., Classical Tutor of Brecon Independent College.

Feb. 25, at her residence, 6, Brunswick-square, London, ELIZABETH, relict of the late WM. FLANDERS, Esq., in her eighty-fifth year.

Feb. 28, at Kensington, after a very short illness, FRANK, son of JOHN CALLCOTT HORSLEY, Esq., in his eighth year.

March 1, at his residence, 9, Curzon-street, Mayfair, London, Dr. JOHN ROBERT HUME, C.B., one of Her Majesty's Commissioners in Lunacy, and for many years private physician to his Grace the late Duke of Wellington, in his seventy-sixth year.

March 1, at Harold's-cross, Dublin, the Hon. CHARLES R. PARNHAM, aged thirty-five.

March 1, of heart disease and broncho-pneumonia, THOMAS EVANS, Esq., M.D., of Stockwell-park House, Surrey, and Kidwelly, Carmarthenshire, aged fifty-seven.

Money Market, and Commercial Intelligence.

CITY, TUESDAY EVENING.

The English Stock Market is firm to-day. Notwithstanding the ministerial difficulty the funds to-day attained a further rise of $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. In the Exchange chief attention is still directed to the Railway Share Market, which exhibits a general tendency towards improvement. French, Belgian, Canadian, and Indian Railway Securities are also rising. In the Stock-Exchange the current rate for short loans on Government Securities is still six per cent., with a good demand. In the Discount Market the demand was active, at full rates, in preparation for the 4th (to-morrow); but no pressure was observable. Consols are 93 $\frac{1}{2}$ 93 $\frac{1}{2}$ for Money, and 94 $\frac{1}{2}$ 94 $\frac{1}{2}$ for April. The New Three per Cents. are 94 $\frac{1}{2}$ 94 $\frac{1}{2}$; and the Reduced, 94 $\frac{1}{2}$ 93 $\frac{1}{2}$ 94 $\frac{1}{2}$. Bank Stock, 221. Exchequer-bills, 2s. dis.; ditto, 500l., 2s. prem.; ditto small, 2s. prem.

The Railway Share Market continues very active, and a further slight improvement has taken place in most of the leading lines.

The exact amount of specie and bullion shipped on board the Indus, which is to leave Southampton for Alexandria to-morrow, with the India and China mails, is 792,160l., of which 783,929l. consists of silver and 8,231l. of gold.

The suspension has been announced of Messrs. Swayne and Bovill, merchants, and patentees of various kinds of machinery. The amount of their liabilities is not ascertained, but it is believed to be large, probably over 100,000l. The nature of their assets is doubtful. According to some representations

they are fully equal to meet all claims, but a very different impression is generally prevalent. Messrs. Cheape and Leslie, an old established East India firm, have also stopped.

The reports from the manufacturing towns for the past week describe no material alteration. At Manchester the market has been flat, owing to the tendency to a decline in cotton. The Birmingham iron trade is well maintained, although there is scarcely so much activity as was expected at the beginning of the year. In the general occupations of the place steady employment prevails, and the foreign orders are, upon the whole, good. At Nottingham there has been an extensive business, both in lace and hosiery. In the woollen districts the transactions have been on a satisfactory scale, and stocks continue low. The Irish linen-markets are fairly supported.

In the general business of the port of London, during the past week, there was increased activity. The number of ships reported inward was 144, including 12 with cargoes of sugar, 10 of corn, in addition to 11,000 barrels of flour, and 1 of tea, comprising 21,457 packages, the greater portion of which are chests. The number of vessels cleared outward was 131, including 14 in ballast. The total number of ships on the berth loading for the Australian colonies is 59, being 8 less than at the last account. Of these 6 are for Adelaide, 3 for Geelong, 4 for Hobart Town, 2 for Launceston, 4 for Melbourne, 8 for New Zealand, 15 for Port Phillip, 1 for Portland Bay, 15 for Sydney, and 1 for Swan River.

The departures from the port of London for the Australian colonies during the week comprised 7 vessels—3 to Adelaide, 2 to Port Phillip, 1 to Sydney, and 1 to Hobart Town. The rates of freight have not experienced any recovery.

PROGRESS OF THE STOCKS DURING THE WEEK.

	Wed.	Thurs.	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.
3 per Ct. Consols	93 1/2	94	93 1/2	93 1/2	93 1/2	93 1/2
Consols for Ac-	93 1/2	94	93 1/2	93 1/2	93 1/2	93 1/2
count	93 1/2	94	93 1/2	93 1/2	93 1/2	93 1/2
3 per Cent. Red.	94	94 1/4	93 1/2	93 1/2	93 1/2	94
New 3 per Cent.	94	94 1/4	93 1/2	93 1/2	93 1/2	94
Annuities	94 1/2	94 1/2	94 1/2	94 1/2	94 1/2	94 1/2
India Stock	220	218 1/2	220	221	221	221
Bank Stock	220	218 1/2	220	221	221	221
Exchequer-bills.	3 pm	3 pm	par	2 pm	2 pm	2 pm
India Bonds	18 1/2	18 1/2	18 1/2	18 1/2	18 1/2	18 1/2
Long Annuities	18 1/2	18 1/2	18 1/2	18 1/2	18 1/2	18 1/2

The Gazette.

BANK OF ENGLAND.

(From Friday's Gazette.)

An Account pursuant to the Act 7th and 8th Victoria, c. 32, for the week ending on Saturday, the 21st day of Feb., 1857.

ISSUE DEPARTMENT.

Notes issued	£34,168,680	Government Debt	£11,015,100
		Other Securities	3,459,900
		Gold Coin & Bullion	9,693,680
		Silver Bullion	—
	£34,168,680		£34,168,680

BANKING DEPARTMENT.

Proprietors' Capital	£14,553,000	Government Securities (including Dead Weight Annuity)	£11,530,313
Reserve	3,521,386	Other Securities	17,755,796
Public Deposits	7,455,290	Notes	5,553,325
Other Deposits	9,294,508	Gold and Silver Coin	711,010
Seven Day and other Bills	726,360		
	£35,550,514		£35,550,514

Feb. 26, 1857.

M. MARSHALL, Chief Cashier.

Friday, February 27, 1857.

BANKRUPT.

CHORLEY, W. B., Hart-street, Bloomsbury, and Curmorthin, Merionethshire, slate merchant, March 10, April 9; solicitor, Mr. Chidley, Basinghall-street.

HADFIELD, W., Cockspur-street, merchant, March 11, April 8; solicitors, Messrs. Tatham and Co., Austin-friars, City.

WARD, L., Wisbech St. Peter, Cambridgeshire, plumber, March 13, April 17; solicitors, Messrs. Abbott and Co., New-Inn.

MORRIS, D., Wisbech, Cambridgeshire, grocer, March 16, April 22; solicitors, Mr. Hensman, College-hill; and Mr. Ollard, Upwell, Cambridgeshire.

HORNER, T., Hart-street, Bloomsbury, house decorator, March 13, April 20; solicitor, Mr. Boydell, Queen-square, Bloomsbury.

BAILEY, W., jun., Buttsland-street, Hoxton, carver, March 13, April 22; solicitor, Mr. Taylor, South-street, Finsbury-square.

CAISTON, A. B., Baker-street, Portman-square, saddler, March 10, April 7; solicitors, Messrs. Lawrance and Co., Old Jewry-chambers, City.

LOYD, D., Cannon-street, City, and Lewisham, Kent, merchant, March 13, April 21; solicitor, Mr. Pawle, New-Inn, City.

WOOD, G., Loughborough, Leicestershire, wharfinger, March 10, April 7; solicitor, Mr. Inglesant, Loughborough.

WEST, J., Beckington, Somersetshire, miller, March 16, April 20; solicitors, Messrs. Brittain and Son, Bristol.

SKINNER, W., jun., Bristol, tailor, March 16, April 20; solicitor, Mr. King, Bristol.

LIDDELL, C., Great Driffield, Yorkshire, common brewer, March 18, April 22; solicitors, Messrs. England and Saxelby, Hull.

WILLIAMS, E., Chester, and Saltney, Flintshire, plumber, March 12, April 9; solicitors, Mr. Dodge, Liverpool; and Mr. Brown, Chester.

OWEN, T., Liverpool, joiner, March 13, April 9; solicitor, Mr. Tebbay, Liverpool.

MANWARING, H. M., Liverpool, grocer, March 12, April 3; solicitor, Mr. Smith, Liverpool.

WALKER, J., Blackburn, Lancashire, commission agent, March 12, April 2; solicitors, Messrs. Shaw and Co., Burnley; and Messrs. Sale and Co., Manchester.

CHEETHAM, D., Rochdale, Lancashire, cotton spinner, March 12, April 2; solicitor, Mr. Heaton, Rochdale.

Tuesday, March 3, 1857.

BANKRUPT.

SICHEL, G., New Broad-street, City, merchant, March 16, April 24; solicitors, Messrs. Lawrance and Co., Old Jewry-chambers, City.

SQUIRES, W., Oxford-street, gun maker, March 18, April 22; solicitor, Mr. M'Duff, Castle-street, Holborn.

KETTLE, H. N., Godalming, Surrey, grocer, March 17, April 16; solicitor, Mr. Murrugh, New-Inn, Strand.

CHORLEY, W. B., Hart-street, Bloomsbury, and Curmorthin, Merionethshire, slate merchant, March 10, April 9; solicitor, Mr. Chidley, Basinghall-street.

HOYMAN, F., Herbert-street, New North-road, merchant, March 12, April 9; solicitor, Mr. Chidley, Basinghall-street.

STAPLETON, W., Wharf, Paddington, contractor, March 17,

April 21; solicitors, Messrs. Routh and Rowden, Southampton-street, Bloomsbury.

KETWOOD, J., jun., Littlehampton, Sussex, plumber, March 13, April 21; solicitors, Messrs. Linklaters and Hackwood, Sise-lane, City.

SULLY, W., Strand, printer, March 14, April 17; solicitors, Messrs. Day and Wright, Paper-buildings, Temple.

MOSLEY, E., Hyde-street, Bloomsbury, gold beater, March 10, April 8; solicitor, Mr. Broughton, Falcon-square, City.

BISHOP, J., Shrewsbury, cabinet maker, March 13, April 3; solicitor, Mr. Knight, Birmingham.

DAVIES, J. H., jun., Bridgend, Glamorganshire, grocer, March 17, April 21; solicitors, Messrs. Livett, Bristol.

GELDER, R., Bradford, Yorkshire, general warehouseman, March 19, April 24; solicitors, Messrs. Sale and Co., Manchester; and Messrs. Richardson and Gaunt, Leeds.

CHAPLIN, M., Kingston-upon-Hull, auctioneer, March 18, April 22; solicitors, Messrs. Wells and Smith, Hull.

WATMOUGH, G., Bolton, Lancashire, and Sheffield, draper, March 13, April 3; solicitors, Messrs. Sale and Co., Manchester.

DEMESA, J., Manchester, cotton waste dealer, March 16, April 8; solicitors, Messrs. Boote and Jellicoe, Manchester.

COOPER, J. M., Sunderland, Durham, shipowner, March 13, April 22; solicitors, Messrs. Sudlow and Co., Bedford-row, City; and Messrs. Hodge and Harle, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

YOUNG, T., Monkwearmouth, Durham, mason, March 13, April 21; solicitor, Mr. Brignal, Durham.

COODON, T. H., Sunderland, Durham, plumber, March 13, April 24; solicitor, Mr. Brignal, Durham.

Markets.

CORN EXCHANGE, LONDON, Monday, March 2

We had a small quantity of English wheat offering this morning, but its condition was generally poor, and consequently difficult of sale; prices of fine dry samples were however much the same as last week. The arrivals of foreign during the week have been moderate, and for fine qualities we have a steady demand at full prices. There was a good supply of English flour, and moderate of American; Norfolk is held at 40s to 41s, with a fair sale; in American little doing, but last week's prices were maintained. Barley met with more inquiry at a slight advance. Beans and peas dull. We had a short arrival of oats, and good fresh corn in better demand at last Monday's quotations. Linseed and cakes firm. Red cloverseed ready sale at improving rates, and white clover as dear.

BRITISH.		FOREIGN.	
Wheat—	s. d.	Wheat	s. d.
Essex and Kent, Red	56 to 58	Dantzic	72 to 85
Do White	58 74	Konigsberg, Red	58 70
Lincoln, Norfolk, and	—	Pomeranian, Red	50 74
Yorkshire Red	—	Rostock	50 74
Scotch	56 64	Danish and Holstein	48 60
Rye	38 40	East Friesland	50 52
Barley, malting	46 48	Petersburg	52 70
Distilling	38 40	Riga and Archangel	—
Malt (pale)	74 76	Polish Odessa	54 56
Beans, Mazagan	36 44	Marianopol	60 64
Ticks	—	Taganrog	—
Harrow	—	Egyptian	46 48
Pigeon	—	American (U.S.)	60 70
Peas, White	42 44	Barley, Pomeranian	36 40
Grey	38 40	Konigsberg	—
Maple	38 40	Danish	36 42
Boilers	40 42	East Friesland	26 30
Tares (English new)	38 40	Egyptian	24 28
Foreign	36 38	Odessa	24 28
Oats (English feed)	23 25	Beans—	—
Flour, town made, per	—	Horse	34 36
Sack of 200 lbs.	54 56	Pigeon	38 40
Linseed, English	—	Egyptian	34 36
Baltic	64 66	Peas, White	42 44
Black Sea	64 68	Oats—	—
Hempseed	40 42	Dutch	19 26
Canaryseed	68 74	Jahde	19 26
Cloverseed, per cwt. of	—	Danish	17 23
112 lbs. English	50 74	Danish, Yellow feed	22 27
German	52 68	Swedish	24 25
French	66 76	Petersburg	23 26
American	68 78	Flour, per bar. of 198 lbs.	—
Linseed Cakes, 154 lbs to 164	—	New York	26 34
Rape Cakes, 61 lbs to 71 lbs per	—	Spanish, per sack	56 60
Pressed, 40 lbs to 42 lbs per last	—	Carrawayseed	38 40

SEEDS, LONDON, Monday, March 2.—The imports of clover seed have been tolerably good, the demand has been well kept up, and choice qualities of red have commanded very high prices, 2s to 4s per cwt above those of last Monday; select American, 7s to 8s; best Bordeaux, 7s. English samples range at all prices from 5s to 9s per cwt. The demand for white is moderately good, but prices have been steadier for this description. Trefoll sells well, English as well as French. Sainfoin goes off steadily; English at 4s to 5s, French at 4s to 4s 6d per quarter. Grass seeds run high still, demand exceeding the supply. Canaryseed remains dull and depressed, good new alone saleable; the old stocks cannot be got off whilst the article is so much out of favour.

BREAD.—The prices of wheaten bread in the metropolis are from 8d to 9d: of household ditto, 7d to 8d per 4 lbs loaf.

BUTCHERS' MEAT, LONDON, Monday, March 2.

The show of foreign stock in to-day's market was very moderate, and its general quality was by no means first-rate. The whole of the supply changed hands on higher terms. Compared with Monday last, the arrivals of home-fed beasts exhibited a deficiency, both as to number and quality. For all breeds, the demand ruled active, and prices advanced 3d per 8 lbs. The best Scots sold readily at 5s per 8 lbs, and a good clearance was effected. The receipts of beasts from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire, amounted to 1,600 Scots and shorthorns; from other parts of England, 300 of various breeds; from Scotland, 300 Scots, and from Ireland, 50 oxen. We had a very limited show of sheep, but their general weight was good. The mutton trade ruled firm, and prices further advanced 2d per 8 lbs. The best old Down, in the wool, sold at 6s per 8 lbs. Shorn sheep were in request at 1s per 8 lbs under that quotation. This is the greatest difference in price almost ever known, but it arises from the high value of skins, and the great activity in the wool trade. Calves were in short supply, and steady request, at very full prices. The highest quotation for veal was 5s 10d per 8 lbs. There was a moderate inquiry for pigs, at last week's quotations.

Per 8 lbs to sink the offal.				Per 8 lbs by the carcass.			
s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Inf. coarse beasts	3 4 to 3 6	Pr. coarse woolled	5 4 to 5 6	Inf. mutton	3 6 to 3 10	Inf. mutton	3 6 to 3 10
Second quality	3 8 to 4 0	Prime Southdown	5 10 to 6 0	Middling ditto	4 0 to 4 6	Middling ditto	4 0 to 4 6
Prime large oxen	4 2 to 4 8	Lge. coarse calves	4 2 to 5 4	Prime ditto	4 8 to 4 10	Prime ditto	4 8 to 4 10
Prime Scots, &c.	4 10 to 5 0	Prime small	5 6 to 6 10	Coarse inf. sheep	4 6 to 4 10	Large hogs	3 8 to 4 0
Coarse inf. sheep	4 6 to 4 10	Neat sm. porkers	4 6 to 5 2	Second quality	5 0 to 5 2	Neat sm. porkers	4 6 to 5 2
Suckling calves, 22s to 30s	—	Quarter-old store-pigs	21 to 28 each				

NEWGATE AND LEADENHALL, Monday, March 2.

The supplies of London-killed meat are very moderate, but the arrivals from Scotland and various parts of England continue seasonably good. The trade generally is firm, and prices are well supported.

Per 8 lbs by the carcass.				Per 8 lbs by the carcass.			
s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Inferior beef	3 0 to 3 4	Inf. mutton	3 6 to 3 10	Inferior beef	3 0 to 3 4	Inf. mutton	3 6 to 3 10
Middling ditto	3 6 to 3 10	Middling ditto	4 0 to 4 6	Middling ditto	3 6 to 3 10	Middling ditto	4 0 to 4 6
Prime large do	4 0 to 4 2	Prime ditto	4 8 to 4 10	Prime large do	4 0 to 4 2	Prime ditto	4 8 to 4 10
Do. small do	4 4 to 4 6	Veal	3 10 to 5 0	Do. small do	4 4 to 4 6	Veal	3 10 to 5 0
Large pork	3 8 to 4 4	Small pork	4 6 to 5 4	Large pork	3 8 to 4 4	Small pork	4 6 to 5 4

PROVISIONS, LONDON, Monday, March 2.—Irish butter in the past week was nearly neglected. The few sales made were on a retail scale, at a further reduction of 4s to 6s per cwt, and the market presented a drooping aspect at the close. Foreign meat ready buyers at from 8s to 12s, as in quality. Bacon was more freely dealt in, chiefly under the influence of speculative

operations, and prices on board and landed advanced in consequence 2s per cwt. Hams were in moderate request, at previous rates. Lard sold slowly, and was the turn cheaper.

PRICES OF BUTTER, CHEESE, HAMS, &c.

Butter		Cheese		Hams	
s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Friesland, per cwt	130 to 130	Cheshire, per cwt	64 to 74		
Kiel	130 128	Cheddar	74 84		
Dorset	130 134	Double Gloucester	60 74		
Carlton	110 120	Single ditto	—		
Waterford	—	York Hams	90 112		
Cork (new)	108 116	Westmoreland ditto	104 110		
Limerick	108 110	Irish ditto	96 100		
Silgo	104 114	Wiltshire Bacon (dried)	70 76		
Fresh, per dozen	14 16	Irish (green)	64 68		

PRODUCE MARKET, MINCING-LANE, March 3.

SUGAR.—The market has been dull to-day, and in some instances a decline of 6d has been accepted. We are without transactions by private contract to report. 6,000 bags of Mauritius were offered in public sale and chiefly sold, from 4s to 5s 6d; grainy, 5s 6d to 5s 8d. 1,300 bags Bengal were offered, and about half sold, Benares, 5s 6d to 5s 8d. 2,000 bags Madras were offered, and a small part only sold, 4s to 4s 3d. Refined market dull. Lumps, 6s 6d to 6s 8d.

COFFEE.—There has not been a public sale, but the article has a firm appearance. Native Ceylon, 5s to 6s.

TEA.—The complicated position of our affairs at the port of Canton having been better understood to-day, a large business has been done in common congou at 13d, which is a further advance of 1d per lb.

SALT.—1,000 bags Madras, refraction 16 to 23, sold in public sale, 4s 6d to 4s 8d. By private contract 500 bags Bengal, refraction 9 to 10, sold at 4s 6d; and 80 tons about, January shipment, at 4s.

COTTON.—The market has been brisk; 1,600 bales sold at full prices.

RUSS.—About 1,000 puncheons of Demerara sold to-day at 2s 9d to 2s 10d.

RICE.—5,500 bags Bengal sold in public auction at 10s to 11s; 4,000 bags Rangoon were also offered and bought in at 10s, but the greater portion subsequently sold at that price, both which showed a slight advance.

Pimento.—150 bags sold in public sale at 4s 6d, which was the previous value.

IRON.—Scotch pig has advanced to 7s to 7s 6d.

OR.—Lined oil quoted steady at 4s 6d.

TALLOW has declined to 6s March delivery, 5s 6d April to June.

In other articles no material alteration.

COVENT-GARDEN, Saturday, Feb. 28.—With the exception of hothouse grapes, which are nearly over, most things are now well supplied, and trade is brisker. Prices have altered little since our last report. The demand for pineapples has increased. French salad consists of endive, lettuce, and barbe du capucin. Good Cornish broccoli is now abundant. Forced vegetables comprise beans, sea-kale, asparagus, and rhubarb. Cucumbers may also be obtained. Peas are very scarce. Apples also realise high prices; good samples of the latter continue to arrive from the south of France. Kent cobs fetch 140s per 100lbs; Barcelona nuts, 20s per bushel; new Spanish and Brazil, 18s ditto; and chestnuts from 14s to 24s per bushel. Oranges are abundant. Portugal onions fetch from 2s to 3s per dozen. Potatoes have altered little since our last report. Cut flowers consist of orchids, Chinese primulas, cinerarias, gardenias, violets, camellias, mignonette, heaths, and roses.

POTATOES, BOROUGH AND SPITALFIELDS, Monday, March 3.

The arrivals of home-grown potatoes since Monday last have been seasonably extensive. As the supply here is in excess of the demand, lower prices have been accepted by the factors. The imports have amounted to 18 hampers from Nieu Diep, 35 tons from Rotterdam, 74 tons from Terceira, and 10 tons from Hamburg. York regents, 10s to 12s; Kent and Essex ditto, 110s to 120s; Scotch ditto, 100s to 120s; ditto cups, 90s to 100s; middlings, 6s to 7s; Lincolns, 100s to 120s; blues, 100s to 110s per ton.

HOPS, BOROUGH, Monday, March 3.—Our market continues firm, with a steady trade in fine qualities, at fully the currency of this day week.

WOOL, CITY, Monday, March 2.—The colonial wool sales having opened with great briskness, and at an advance of from 2d to 3d per lb, holders of all kinds of English wool refuse to sell except at this amount of improvement. So little business is doing, however, owing to the attention of the dealers being chiefly directed to the sales now in progress, that the quotations are almost nominal. The accounts from the continental markets state, that pending the London wool sales the transactions were limited, at about previous rates. The first sales of colonial wool for the present year commenced on Thursday last. There was a very full attendance of buyers both for home use and for exportation, and the biddings were extremely spirited, more particularly for the finer qualities of Sydney and Moreton Bay wools. Cape wools also were in request, owing to the improved condition of the greater part. Compared with the rates obtained at the close of last sale, prices have shown an advance of fully 1d to 3d per lb on Cape wool, and 2d to 3d on Australian. The quantity likely to be offered for public competition at the present sales is about 35,000 bales, about 17,000 of which are from the Cape of Good Hope, and about 2,000 are low wools from the East Indies and China.

FLAX, HEMP, COIR, &c.—There is very little doing in any kind of flax, yet prices are supported; Petersburg, 37 to 43; Dutch, 35 to 50 per ton. Hemp moves off steadily; Petersburg clean, 36; outshot, 34; and half-clean, 33 to 35 per ton. In jute and coir goods we have no change to report.

TALLOW, Monday, March 3.—Our market continues steady, and prices are fairly supported. To-day P.Y.C. on the spot is selling at 6s 6d per cwt. For forward delivery very little is doing. Rough fat, 3s 3d per 8 lbs.

PARTICULARS.

	1852.	1853.	1854.	1855.	1856.	1857.
Stock	Casks.	Casks.	Casks.	Casks.	Casks.	Casks.
	37818	35702	36602	32726	32726	32726
Price of Yellow Candle	43s 3d	43s 3d	43s 3d	43s 3d	43s 3d	43s 3d
	to	to	to	to	to	to
Delivery last Week	1802	1378	1417	1533	1533	1533
Ditto from the 1st of June	80661	80163	64314	84495	84495	84495
Arrived last Week	2664	101	2516	783	783	783
Ditto from the 1st of June	77791	92547	64824	63879	63879	63879
Price of Town Tallow	45s 9d	46s 3d	46s 3d	45s 3d	45s 3d	45s 3d

SURREY MISSION.

THE ANNUAL MEETING will be held at SURREY CHAPEL on THURSDAY, April 9, 1857. The PUBLIC MEETING in the Afternoon at Three; and the Rev. W. LANDELLS, of Regent's-park Chapel, will preach in the Evening.

THAMES LINE OF CLIPPER SHIPS TO PORT PHILLIP. Guaranteed to sail on the day named.

NOTICE to PASSENGERS per THAMES, Captain Luckie, to sail on the 20th of February. Passengers are requested to join the Ship at Gravesend, by noon on Thursday, the 19th inst., or if in the London Docks, on the evening of the previous day.

Budden, Bevan, and Tozer, 2, Jeffrey's-square, St. Mary-axe, or John Bonus, Sons, and Co., 18, Cannon-st., E.C. Will be followed by the PLANET, Captain Byron, on the 10th April, and a first-class clipper, on the 20th May.

THAMES LINE of CLIPPER SHIPS, guaranteed to sail on the day named from London to MELBOURNE and GEE-LONG (Port Phillip), landing passengers and luggage at the wharf. Passage money—second class, 16s. and upwards. These fine vessels are British built, A 1 at Lloyd's. The accommodation both for first and second class passengers is very superior, and they carry experienced surgeons. They load at the Jetty, London Docks.

Ships.	Tons.	Captains.	Date.
Empress Eugenie ..	1,000	Natras	Sailed 10th January.
Thames (new)	1,200	Luckie	Sailed 20th February.
Planet (new)	1,200	Byron	To sail 10th April.
Harwich (new)	1,100	—	To sail 20th May.

N.B. Any guarantee will be given that the ships sail punctually as above. For freight or passage apply to Budden, Bevan, and Tozer, 2, Jeffrey's-square, St. Mary-axe; or to John Bonus, Sons, and Co., 18, Cannon-street.

DEVITT AND MOORE'S AUSTRALIAN LINE OF PACKET SHIPS.

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RANDALL JAMES DOUGHTY, Commander.

Lying in the London Docks. Has excellent accommodation for a few passengers in the chief cabin, on moderate terms. For terms of freight or passage apply to Devitt and Moore, 9, Billiter-street.

DEVITT AND MOORE'S AUSTRALIAN LINE OF PACKET SHIPS.

Has just arrived from the Colony, and will return again 15th March, calling at Plymouth to embark passengers.

DIRECT for HOBART TOWN, a Regular Trader, the splendid Aberdeen clipper HEATHER BELL, A 1, 12 years, register 811 tons.

HENRY WM. HARMSWORTH, Commander.

Lying in the London Docks.—This beautiful vessel has been built expressly for the trade, has most elegant accommodation for passengers, and is one of the fastest ships out of the port of London.

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DEVITT AND MOORE'S AUSTRALIAN LINE OF PACKET SHIPS.

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Lying in the London Docks.—Has excellent accommodation for passengers.

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HOWITT and CO.'S 31s. LOO TABLES are made of Solid Mahogany—3 ft. 6 in diameter, 31s.; 3 ft. 9 ditto, 36s. 6d.; 4 ft. ditto, 45s. Warranted sound workmanship and good material; superior to anything in the trade at the price. Walnut and Rosewood from 4 Guineas. A large stock always on show in their extensive Furnishing Galleries 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, High Holborn, London.

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STEAM ENGINES.—First-class NON-CONDENSING STEAM ENGINES at 25l. per horse-power. Consumption of fuel under 4lbs. per indicated horse-power per hour.—W. H. NASH, Engineer, Isle of Dogs, London.

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IF YOU LOVE A GOOD CUP OF TEA, BUY HIND'S CELEBRATED MIXTURE, Corner of North-street, King's-cross, third turning from the Great Northern Terminus, City-side. Tea for the Million, 2s. 10d. lb.

WHY GIVE MORE!—EXCELLENT TEAS, Black, Green, and Mixed, are now on sale, for family use, at 2s. 10d. per lb., at NEWSOM and Co.'s Original Tea Warehouse, 80, Borough.—Established A.D. 1745.

AMERICAN OVERSHOES, Men's, Women's, and Children's, Cheapest and Best, Wholesale and Retail, at the GUTTA PERCHA WAREHOUSE, 87, Holborn-hill, London. Gutta Percha Sheet, Soles, Solution, Bands, and Tubing The trade and country dealers supplied on liberal terms.

PIANOFORTE FOR SALE.—A very powerful and brilliant-toned COTTAGE, by John Broadwood and Sons, in an elegant Case, Metallic Plate, &c. It is an instrument that can be warranted, and will be sold at a low price for ready money. To be seen at Messrs. Ralph Smith and Co.'s, 171, Bishopsgate-street, London.

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MAPPINS' ELECTRO-SILVER PLATE. Messrs. MAPPINS' celebrated Manufactures in Electro-Plate, comprising Tea and Coffee Services, Side Dishes, Dish Covers, Spoons, and Forks, and all articles usually made in Silver, can now be obtained from their London Warehouse, No. 67, King William-street, City, where the largest stock in London may be seen.—Manufacture, Queen's Cutlery Works, Sheffield. Catalogue, with prices, sent free on application.

COALS.—Best Coals only.—COCKERELL and Co.'s price is now 24s. per ton net for the BEST SCREENED COALS, as supplied by them to Her Majesty.—13, Cornhill; Furfleet-wharf, Earl-street, Blackfriars; and Eaton-wharf, Belgrave-place, Piccadilly.

COALS.—By Screw and Railway.—LEA and CO., HIGHBURY and KINGSLAND COAL DEPOTS.—HETTON'S, 23s. PER TON, the best house coals in the world, are brought direct from the Colliery to the Poplar Docks, by the screw-steamers Cochrane, Hetton, and Northumberland; or the Marchioness of Londonderry's Stewart's Wallend delivered, screened, to any part of London, at 25s. per ton, cash. Highgate, Hampstead, Hornsey, or Edmonton, 1s. per ton extra. All orders to be addressed to LEA and CO., Chief Offices, North London Railway Stations, Highbury, Islington, or Kingsland.

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Elastic Double Contil Winter Bodices	4 11	9 6
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the ELECTRO PLATE, MANUFACTURING SILVER-SMITHS, BRONZISTS, &c., beg to intimate that they have added to their extensive Stocks a large variety of new designs in the highest class of art, which have recently obtained for them at the Paris Exhibition the decoration of the Cross of the Legion of Honour, as well as the "Grande Medaille d'Honneur" (the only one accorded to the trade).

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Having been manufactured for the express purpose of Presentation, every Watch has received special attention, so that public bodies who desire to present a valuable and lasting memorial, will find an unfailing Timekeeper, and an elegant work of art, at a very moderate price. Gold Chains to suit.

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TEETH.—Invention.—Mr. EDWARD A. JONES, Inventor and Manufacturer of the IMPROVED TEETH and SOFT GUM, which are fixed permanently; they do not change colour, and never wear out. A complete set, from 5s. per tooth, 5s.—12s., Strand, next Waterloo-bridge, and 55, Connaught-terrace, Hyde-park.

TEETH!—IMPORTANT NOTICE.

MESSRS. GABRIEL, the old-established Dentists, have the honour to inform their Patients and the Public that they have REMOVED to their NEW PREMISES, situate 33, Ludgate-hill, where they continue to supply, as for many years past, the celebrated SILICIOUS ENAMELLED AMERICAN MINERAL TEETH. From 3s. 6d. per Tooth; Sets, 4l. 4s. each. Superior to any now in use. Warranted to answer fully every purpose for which nature intended the original, without Extracting Teeth or Stumps, and without Wires of any description.

By the New and Painless System One Visit only is required of Country Patients. HER MAJESTY'S ROYAL LETTERS PATENT have been awarded for the production of a PERFECTLY WHITE ENAMEL for Decayed Front Teeth, which entirely supercedes the use of any of the Amalgams now in use, consisting, as they do generally, of Quicksilver and other Metals, than which nothing can be more injurious to the Teeth and constitution generally.

The WHITE ENAMEL is a non-metallic preparation, and requires to be seen to be appreciated.

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Consultation and every information Gratis.

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GROSVENOR-SQUARE

(REMOVED FROM No. 61).

TEETH.—By Her Majesty's Royal Letters Patent. Newly Invented and Patented Application of Chemically Prepared White and Gum Coloured India Rubber, in the Construction of Artificial Teeth, Gums, and Palates.—Mr. SPHRAIM MOSELY, Surgeon-Dentist, 9, LOWER GROSVENOR-STREET, Grosvenor-square, Sole Inventor and Patentee.

A new, original, and invaluable invention, consisting in the adaptation, with the most absolute perfection and success, of CHEMICALLY PREPARED WHITE and GUM-COLOURED INDIA RUBBER, as a lining to the ordinary gold or bone frame. The extraordinary results of this application may be briefly noted in a few of their most prominent features: All sharp edges are avoided; no springs, wires, or fastenings are required; a greatly increased freedom of action is supplied; a natural elasticity, hitherto wholly unobtainable, and a fit, perfected with the most unerring accuracy, is secured, while, from the softness and flexibility of the agents employed, the greatest support is given to the adjoining teeth when loose, or rendered tender by the absorption of the gums. The acids of the mouth exert no agency on the chemically prepared INDIA RUBBER, and, as it is a non-conductor, fluids of any temperature may, with thorough comfort be imbibed and retained in the mouth, all unpleasantness of smell and taste being at the same time wholly provided against by the peculiar nature of its preparation. To be obtained only at

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14, Gay-street, Bath; and 10, Eldon-square, Newcastle-on-Tyne;

ADNAM'S IMPROVED PATENT

GROATS AND BARLEY. The only existent Patent and strongly recommended by the Medical Profession.

TO INVALIDS, MOTHERS, and FAMILIES.—The important object, so desirable to be obtained, has at length been secured to the public by J. and J. C. ADNAM, Patentees, who, after much time and attention, have succeeded by their Improved Process in producing preparations of the purest and finest quality even manufactured from the Oat and Barley.

To enumerate the many advantages derived by the public from the use of the Improved Patent Groats is not the intention of the Patentees; suffice it to say that, by the process of manufacture, the acidity and unpleasant flavour so generally complained of in other preparations is totally obviated, and very superior gruel speedily made therefrom. It is particularly recommended to those of consumptive constitutions, Ladies and Children; and the healthy and strong will find it an excellent Luncheon or Supper.

The Barley, being prepared by a similar process, is as pure as can be manufactured, and will be found to produce light and nourishing Food for Infants and the Aged; and to contain all the necessary properties for making a delicious pudding. It has also the distinguishing character for making very superior Barley Water, and will be found a most excellent ingredient for thickening Soup, &c.

A report having been circulated that preparations of so white a character could not be produced from Groats and Barley alone, the Patentees have had recourse to the highest authority, viz., A. S. TAYLOR, M.D., F.R.S., &c., &c., for an analysis to establish the fact, a copy of which is subjoined:—

[COPY.]

"Chemical Laboratory, Hospital, February 19, 1855.

"I have submitted to a microscopical and chemical examination the samples of Barley and Groats which you have forwarded to me, and I beg to inform you that I find in them only those principles which are found in good Barley; there is no mineral or other impurity present, and from the result of my investigation, I believe them to be genuine, and to possess those nutritive properties assigned by the late Dr. Pereira to this description of food.

(Signed) "A. S. TAYLOR."

CAUTION.—To prevent errors, the public are requested to observe that each Package bears the signature of the Patentees, J. and J. C. ADNAM.

To be obtained Wholesale at the Manufactory, Maiden-lane, Queen-street, London; and Retail in Packets and Canisters, at 6d. and 1s. each, and in Canisters for Families, at 2s., 3s., and 10s. each, of all respectable Grocers, Druggists, &c. in Town and country.

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In consequence of the RETIREMENT of Mr. BUCHANAN, the whole of this valuable STOCK will be offered for Sale, commencing on MONDAY, 2nd MARCH, and following days, consisting of—

SILKS
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ALL PURCHASED PREVIOUS TO THE LATE GREAT ADVANCE.

In addition to the above are several large lots of SILKS, SHAWLS, FANCY DRESSES, and RIBBONS, amounting to £12,675 14s. 3d., bought during the last three months at Job Prices, and which have now been purchased by JAMES SPENCE and CO. at a large discount from the original cost price; and will be marked at prices that must be appreciated by customers, and warrant the recommendation of this STOCK to the special and immediate attention of their friends.

N.B.—The Premises were CLOSED on THURSDAY, FRIDAY, and SATURDAY, the 26th, 27th, and 28th February, for the purpose of arranging the Stock, and re-marking all the Goods in PLAIN FIGURES, so that one uniform price will be charged to all.

Hours of Business during the Sale, from Ten A.M. to Six P.M.

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Active and Enterprising District Secretaries and Agents are still wanted in a few Districts.

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Smaller amounts may be secured by proportionate payments.

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£10,000 READY to be ADVANCED,

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NEW WEST LONDON BUILDING and INVESTMENT SOCIETY. Shares 100l. Entrance, 2s. 6d.; Subscription, 10s. No joint stock liability. Large interest. Perfect safety. Money advanced to any amount.

Prospectuses, with full particulars, of Mr. Holcombe, Secretary, 5, Oldham-place, Bagnigge-wells-road, near Exmouth-street (W.C.)

HENRY'S CALCINED MAGNESIA continues to be prepared, with the most scrupulous care and attention, by Messrs Thomas and William Henry, Manufacturing Chemists, Manchester. It is sold, in bottles price 2s. 9d., or with glass stoppers at 4s. 6d. Stamp included, with full directions for its use, by their various agents in the metropolis, and throughout the United Kingdom; but it cannot be genuine unless their names are engraved on the Government Stamp, which is fixed over the cork or stopper of each bottle.

Sold in London, wholesale, by Messrs. Barclay and Sons, Farringdon-street; Sutton and Co., Bow-churchyard; Newbery and Sons, E. Edwards, Thos. Butler, St. Paul's-churchyard; and of most of the vendors of the Magnesia may be had, authenticated by a similar Stamp, HENRY'S AROMATIC SPIRIT OF VINEGAR, the invention of Mr. Henry, and the only genuine preparation of that article.

It is sound Economy always to have in the house a box of

PARR'S LIFE PILL'S.

They stimulate and improve the working of all the important functions of the body, and thus help to insure a good health from youth to old age.

Those who use them judiciously have seldom occasion to resort to doctors, or to take any other medicine.

TO LADIES.

A trial of a single box of Parr's Life Pills will at once prove that they mildly and speedily remove all skin eruptions, sallowness of complexion, nervous irritability, indigestion, costiveness, depression, irregularity or general debility, by assisting the secretions, giving tone and vigour to the whole system.

Sold by all respectable Chemists and Medicine Vendors in town and country.

In Boxes, price 1s. 1½d. and 11s. each. Protected and English Government Stamp. Genuine Medicine. Sole P. Crane-court, Fleet-street, London.

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SIR JOHN PAKINGTON'S EDUCATION BILL.

At a SPECIAL MEETING of the COMMITTEE of the VOLUNTARY SCHOOL ASSOCIATION, held March 2nd, 1857, R. S. BENDALL, Esq., in the Chair,

It was unanimously resolved—
I. That this committee, while entertaining a deep sense of the importance of popular education, and earnestly desiring its improvement and wider diffusion, hereby express their unabated disapprobation of all legislative enactments for securing those objects, believing that the work of Education will be best promoted by its being left entirely in the hands of the people themselves.

II. That in the opinion of this committee the Bill introduced into the House of Commons by Sir John Pakington is open to the following serious objections:—

1. That, while requiring local management in the schools to be supported under its provisions, it gives the sanction of law to the powers and authority of the Committee of Privy Council, and thus perpetuates a system of the most dangerous centralisation.

2. That by throwing the cost of education on the rates for the relief of the poor, it does in effect create a school rate, and at the same time degrades the cause of education by identifying it with pauperism.

3. That by its provisions for the election of the local school committees it is calculated to create perpetual strife and discord in all cities and boroughs where it may be brought into operation.

4. That by adopting the Capitation Grant of the Committee of Privy Council, in addition to the proposed local rate, it sanctions and continues a wasteful expenditure of public money, at the same time that its effect will be to discourage the action of private benevolence and the growing disposition amongst parents to provide at their own cost for the education of their children.

5. That the method in which the Bill proposes to deal with the vitally important subject of religion is in the highest degree objectionable—first, in separating all direct religious teaching from the ordinary course of the school procedure; and, second, in supporting by public money schools in which the most contradictory views of religious truth are inculcated, thus violating the rights of conscience, and confounding all distinction between truth and error.

G. W. ALEXANDER, Treasurer.
HENRY RICHARD, Hon. Secretaries.
JOSEPH BARRETT, Hon. Secretaries.

SIR JOHN PAKINGTON'S EDUCATION BILL.

At a MEETING of a COMMITTEE of FRIENDS of VOLUNTARY EDUCATION, appointed in London, on the 6th May, 1853, held at 33, MOORGATE-STREET, FEB. 25, 1857.

ANGUS JENNINGS, Esq., in the Chair.

It was resolved unanimously:—

I. That, with an undiminished interest in the great work of popular education, and with a most anxious wish to see it make healthy and effectual advances, this Committee cannot but express their entire dissatisfaction with the Bill introduced by Sir John Pakington into the House of Commons.

II. That this Committee renew their protest against legislative interference of any kind with the education of the people, which they again affirm to be the business of the people themselves; while they object to this Bill in particular, that it takes a most injurious and unworthy aim—since it neither contemplates the extension of popular education, nor its improvement, nor seeks to grapple with any of the acknowledged impediments to its progress, but (adopting the worst of all the plans of the Committee of Council—the Capitation Grant) merely proposes to pay money with a lavish hand to existing schools, without any inquiry whether they want it or not, or whether it may be productive of evil or good.

III. That, in proposing to throw this hurtful, and ultimately enormous expenditure on the Poor-rate, the promoters of the Bill are seeking after a school-rate in disguise, and in the most offensive and mischievous form. The Committee, therefore, repeat their often-expressed conviction that a school-rate is at once unnecessary and inexpedient—unfair in social pressure, irritating in civic life, offensive to conscientious feeling, discouraging to parental virtue, and fatal to voluntary effort; and add their belief that those evils will exhibit themselves in an aggravated form when the school-rate is identified with the poor-rate.

IV. That, in the judgment of the Committee, the proposed adjustment of the "religious difficulty" by this Bill is altogether futile: since, under it, the rate will be applicable to all varieties of religious belief represented by existing schools, however antagonistic and contradictory; while the proviso, that no "distinctive religious formula" shall be taught except at a specified hour, when the attendance of children on whose part objection in raised is raised shall not be compulsory, avails nothing towards the relief of the difficulty hence arising. On the one hand, it is a mere illusion to pretend that, on this plan, the rate would not be applied to religious instruction; since whatever supports a school manifestly supports all that is done in it: and, on the other hand, it is no less fallacious to imagine, that such a withdrawal of religious formulae would annul the religious teaching of the school; since, wherever this is seriously and effectively given, it must leave the entire educational process. If, however, it were in any case otherwise, the result would be, that children objecting to learn the "distinctive religious formula" (of whom there might be many) would receive no religious instruction at all.

V. That, in the judgment of the Committee, the local and permissive character of the Bill, while diminishing its immediate pressure, does not mitigate its objectionable aspect; since it is evidently and avowedly a mere expedient to insinuate the thin end of a wedge, which the parties who hold it are determined to drive home.

(Signed) ANGUS JENNINGS, Chairman.
J. H. HINTON, Secretary.

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